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MOUNT COKE MISSION VILLAGE,

IN THE TERRITORY OF S.T HALSE.

Founded by the Rev. Stephen Kay, October, 1825.

Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff Street.

TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES

IN

CAFFRARIA:

DESCRIBING

THE CHARACTER, CUSTOMS, AND MORAL CONDITION OF THE TRIBES INHABITING THAT PORTION

OF

SOUTHERN AFRICA:

WITH

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT IN ITS BORDERS, THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY, AND THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

BY STEPHEN KAY,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTION,

ESTABLISHED FOR

Investigating the Geography, Natural History, and General Resources of Southern Africa.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY B. WAUGH AND T. MASON,

FOR THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AT THE CONFERENCE OFFICE, 200 MULBERRY-STREET.

1834.

"YOUR Missionaries have dived into that mine from which we were often told no valuable ore or precious stones could be extracted; and they have brought up the gem of an immortal spirit, flashing with the light of intellect, and glowing with the hue of Christian graces."—WATSON.

PREFACE.

To urge upon the Christian world the loud and affecting calls of the perishing African is the writer's principal object in the following pages. To this he has himself been urged by an imperative sense of duty, as well as by the advice of several wise and judicious friends, to whose learning and piety the world itself is indebted, and in whose counsels he therefore deems it no small honour to have had a place. A considerable portion of the short period that has elapsed since his return to Europe having been spent in travelling and attending public meetings in different and widely distant parts of the United Kingdom, the work has been unavoidably delayed much longer than was first intended; but being at length completed, he now very diffidently presents it to the public, hoping that the reader will candidly overlook any defect that may appear in style or arrangement, especially when told that it has been prepared for the press amid much pastoral and other ministerial duty.

It was the opinion of a great man* (now no more), that a condensed view of Caffraria, with its different tribes, was still a desideratum; and much wanted, not only for the information of such as are laudably engaged in advocating the cause of Christian missions, but particularly for the encouragement of those who are going out as missionaries. Upon a returned missionary these have, of course, special claims; and one of the most

* The Rev. Richard Watson, whose truly missionary spirit broke forth, on an occasion never to be forgotten, in the following strong and emphatic expressions: "Mr. Kay, were I as young as you, Africa should be the field of my choice."

pleasing duties that has devolved upon the author since his arrival in England has been that of giving a preparatory course of instruction to several who have since proceeded to their respective spheres of labour. When thus bound to a foreign country, we are naturally anxious, not only to acquaint ourselves with its topography and geographical situation, but to obtain that kind of intelligence especially which more immediately bears upon our great object: and this mere travellers seldom furnish; or if they do, it is usually mixed up with so much extraneous matter as to render its attainment a work of tiresome research.

Southern Africa was the very last section of the mission field to which the writer's attention had been at all directed, previous to his offering himself as a candidate for the foreign work; and until within a few weeks of his embarkation, various other quarters were confidently spoken of as being likely to constitute his final destination. When at length, however, our appointment was fully determined, and we began to look about for the requisite information, several works were put into our hands, which, in the main, proved exceedingly unsatisfactory, as they contained little or nothing of the practical missionary. In one, indeed, was found abundance of useful and entertaining matter, put together with considerable talent and judgment, but relating almost exclusively to the colony; in another, a hasty visit to certain mission stations within the colony, with as much trite and commonplace remark as was necessary to fill up an imposing quarto volume broadly margined; while a third presented little besides a mere journal of every day's occurrences, taking in every circumstance, and almost every thought, that seems to have struck the traveller while amid African scenes.

As it will be manifest from the map that the author had occasion to pass through the very heart of the colony, on his way into the interior, the reader may probably be led to anticipate something respecting its state, politics, and prospects; but upon these subjects enough has already been said by Barrow, Lichtenstein, Thompson,

and other respectable writers, to whose works reference is repeatedly made in the sequel. On this account, therefore, he has purposely abstained from touching upon them, excepting in cases where the interests and affairs of the native tribes were immediately concerned. Not at all anxious about the merit of mere book-making, any more than of personal emolument, he has selected from a large mass of materials such articles for the present volume as were most likely to prove generally useful and interesting, bringing the work within a comparatively small compass. Should no other end be answered, it will at least serve to remind us of the degraded state of ancient Britain when Julius Cæsar first invaded it; for in the present condition of the Caffrarian tribes is reflected, as in a mirror, the leading features of our great progenitors; while from our own history we may also learn the state to which such tribes may be elevated, by means favourable to their improvement.

The true character of the African, like that of the American, has been vilely and universally traduced; sometimes from sheer ignorance,—at others from malice; but more frequently from absolutely mercenary motives. Nor has the philosopher himself, with all his fine schemes of civilization,—schemes which, for any thing we yet know, have effected just nothing at all,—done much towards raising these degraded children of Ham. "Nearly two centuries elapsed," says Dr. Robertson, "after the discovery of America, before the manners of its inhabitants attracted, in any considerable degree, the attention of philosophers. At length they discovered that the contemplation of the condition and character of the Americans in their original state tended to complete our knowledge of the human species, enabling us to fill up a considerable chasm in the history of its progress, leading at the same time to speculations no less curious than important.

"They entered upon this new field of study with great ardour; but instead of throwing light upon the subject, they have contributed, in some degree, to involve it in additional obscurity. Too impatient to inquire, they

hastened to decide; and began to erect systems, when they should have been searching for facts on which to establish their foundations. Struck with the appearance of degeneracy in the human species throughout the New World, and astonished at beholding a vast continent occupied by a naked, feeble, and ignorant race of men, some authors of great name have maintained, that this part of the globe had but lately emerged from the sea, and become fit for the residence of man; that every thing in it bore marks of a recent original; and that its inhabitants, lately called into existence, and still at the beginning of their career, were unworthy to be compared with the people of a more ancient and improved continent.* Others have imagined, that under the influence of an unkindly climate, which checks and enervates the principle of life, man never attained in America the perfection which belongs to his nature, but remained an animal of inferior order, defective in the vigour of his bodily frame, and destitute of sensibility, as well as of force, in the operations of his mind; a brutish, obstinate being, incapable either of acquiring religious knowledge, or of being trained to the functions of social life.† In opposition to both these, other philosophers have supposed that man arrives at his highest dignity and excellence long before he reaches a state of refinement; and in the rude simplicity of savage life displays an elevation of sentiment, an independence of mind, and a warmth of attachment, for which it is vain to search among the members of polished societies.‡ They seem to consider that as the most perfect state of man which is the least civilized. They describe the manners of the rude Indians with such rapture, as if they proposed them for models to the rest of the species."§

Equally absurd and contradictory theories have been proposed, and that with equal confidence, respecting the African; and great genius, as well as uncommon powers of eloquence, have been exerted to clothe them with an

* M. de Buffon, Hist. Nat. iii. 484, &c., ix. 114.
† M. de P. Recherches Philos. sur les Americ. passim.
‡ M. Rousseau. § Hist. Americ. Book iv. p. 314, 315.

appearance of truth. The author has therefore been led to make the subject one of close and studied observation. The bodily constitution of the natives, the qualities of their minds, their domestic state and political institutions, their system of war and public security, their arts and arms, together with the singular customs and degrading superstitions universally prevalent among them, have all been points of diligent inquiry for years; and he has now endeavoured to present them to view just as he found them. The opportunities afforded by a settled residence in their hamlets, and by daily intercourse with them under all the varied circumstances of savage life, have been such as to induce an unostentatious confidence in the conclusions to which he has come; and should increased interest be hereby excited, or Africa's weal at all promoted, he will feel more than compensated for that which was but his "reasonable service." S. K.

Harper & Brothers. New York. 1834.

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INTRODUCTION.

Caffraria, as exhibited in many of our old maps, constitutes one of the largest divisions of the vast continent of Africa, being bounded on the north by Negroland and Abyssinia; on the west by part of Guinea and Congo; on the eastern side by the Indian Ocean; and southward by the Cape of Good Hope. But the part now occupied by the numerous nations generally designated Kaffer is much more limited, and lies altogether on the southern side of the equator; while far more limited still is that portion of it which our most extended explorations at present embrace, forming a comparatively small tract indeed. Those of its tribes with which we have become somewhat acquainted, and to whom the following series of observations more immediately refer, lie along the eastern coast from our colonial boundary in 33 degrees south lat. northwards.

Happening one day accidentally to enter into conversation with a certain gentleman on various subjects connected with the interior of this country, he put into my hand a pamphlet, written by Captain B. Stout more than thirty years ago, and republished in London about the year 1820. The author appears to have been a naval officer and an American; on the titlepage of his work he is announced as the "late Commander of the American East Indiaman named the Hercules, lost [in 1796] on the the coast of Caffraria, within a few miles of the river Infanta."

Towards the close of his "interesting description" of the regions through which he and his shipwrecked companions travelled, after being cast ashore on their way to the colony, with a feeling truly national he warmly recommends their immediate colonization by Americans. This measure, however, if at all approved of, was not adopted, by the President of the United States, the Hon. John Adams, to whom his narrative was

addressed. What the reason might be which weighed with the latter against such a project is an inquiry of comparatively small importance; but the arguments by which our author urges his suggestion particularly arrested my attention: plans having been brought into operation, and effects produced, the very opposite of those which he seems to have contemplated. At page 139, Mr. Stout observes: "On considering this subject with attention, I own some very potent objections have taken possession of my mind respecting the usual manner of colonizing, which for centuries past enlightened nations have invariably pursued. It cannot have escaped those people who are conversant in history, that since the establishment of Christianity in Europe no savage country has been settled from that continent, without having missionaries or clergy of some order to accompany the adventurers. The piety of the measure would at this day be applauded, if experience had not taught us the impolicy of it; for I believe it will be found that hitherto the adoption of this practice has been seldom attended with a single good consequence." And, again: "If the savage countries in Africa, which I have before described, be colonized from England, it is certain that people of different religious persuasions will visit and settle there. What then must be the evident consequence? Plainly this, that what they hear on one day delivered as sacred truths they will find contradicted on the next. The poor savages, however ignorant, will soon perceive that, notwithstanding our boasted learning and information, we have not been able to agree among ourselves in matters so essential to our temporal and spiritual happiness: and if they are not disgusted with these different sentiments, they will be divided into sectaries; and from thence must arise contentions and reciprocal animosities, which generally terminate in wars, persecutions, and bloodshed. The use of the plough, which in a great measure secures a local residence, the manner of rearing vegetation for all the purposes of civil life, erecting of comfortable habitations, and forming them into towns and villages, together with all the useful arts, may be taught them; and these necessary avocations will employ their time, secure their attachment, and eventually make them useful members of a regular community. These important ends may be fully accomplished without confusing them

with mysterious doctrines which they can never be sufficiently educated to embrace or understand. Indeed, the attempt I am convinced would be ineffectual, if not dangerous; and therefore I object to the establishment or introduction of any theological system on the continent of Africa." (Page 141.)

It is not my intention to enter into controversy with the respectable author of this narrative; and it is, of course, quite superfluous to say that we are altogether at issue on the main question, as nothing can be more fallacious than this plausible theory of civilization, independently of Christianity. I hold that something more than a mere acquaintance with "the use of the plough, the manner of rearing vegetation," the mode of erecting "comfortable habitations," and other "useful arts," is absolutely requisite to render the inhabitants of "savage countries" either truly happy in themselves, or "useful members of a regular community." And I maintain likewise, that the natives of Caffraria are by no means so incapable of understanding the plain doctrines of our holy faith, "matters so essential to our temporal and spiritual happiness," as Captain Stout and others would have us believe: yea, and further, that adventurers in such countries, American as well as European, unaccompanied by missionaries or clergy of any order, and disclaiming the necessity of "any theological system" whatever, instead of improving the condition of barbarians, have in numerous instances become even worse than the very savages themselves. It would not be at all difficult to adduce names and circumstances in proof of this lamentable fact, and to show that a thorough acquaintance, not only with the arts of civilized life, but with the more respectable stations in life, is, in the absence of religious principle, far from being a sufficient preservation from the deteriorating influence of native manners, a gradual adoption of aboriginal customs, or a heathenish indulgence of the very basest passions.

As Mr. Stout anticipated, these coasts have been "colonized from England," and, agreeable to the plan generally pursued by the enlightened nations of Europe, "missionaries and clergy have accompanied the adventurers." Many of the former have, moreover, been permitted by government to proceed far beyond the boundaries of the settlement for the express purpose of

introducing Christianity among the very people whom he so affectingly describes as being wholly "destitute of every intellectual acquirement," &c. Thus, therefore, the attempt to establish religion has been made; and it remains to be seen how far the design has proved either "ineffectual or dangerous." Seeing that on considering this subject "some very potent objections" took possession of the gallant officer's mind, and deeming it more than probable that others in this colonizing age may be ready to indulge in similar opinions, I have been induced to devote to it a much greater degree of attention than I at first contemplated; hoping hereby to render some little service to the perishing progeny of Ham, and to the cause of Christian missions generally, —a cause in which it has been my happiness to be engaged between eleven and twelve years. In prosecuting this task, I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to confine myself to facts that have come within my own knowledge; some of which, through the medium of magazines and other periodicals, have already been presented to the public, but in a detached form and at different times.

Long indeed has Africa been neglected and suffered to remain the devoted victim of cruelty and oppression; we cannot therefore but hail many recent and highly important events, which go far to prove that her "day of visitation" has at length arrived. Now is stirred up the philanthropist to plead her cause, and unweariedly to exert himself on behalf of her fettered millions; the traveller and man of science to explore her unknown deserts; the missionary to establish himself in the most pestilential of her climes; and the Christian colonist to fix his habitation in the very neighbourhood of her warlike tribes. The character of many of the British settlers who migrated to the coast of Caffraria in 1819–20, the section of country there allotted to them by government, and the special arrangements that were made prior to their embarkation, relative to the spiritual concerns of the people, are all circumstances in which we are constrained to recognise the overruling hand of Providence. Among the number who then bade adieu to their native shores were several pious families of various denominations. These appear to have been actuated by the purest of motives, being desirous, not only of promoting their own temporal welfare, but the

glory of God also, and the best interests of their fellow-men.

The relative situation of the district in which they settled is peculiarly interesting; and it is worthy of remark, that, although the great body of emigrants on their arrival were divided and located partly in the eastern and partly in the western province, the majority of those that were either decidedly or professedly religious were in the very first instance thrown into the former, where their lands actually joined those of a numerous people "sitting in darkness, and in the region and shadow of death." When the emigration project was first proposed, the government at home very laudably offered to support a minister to each party consisting of a hundred families, leaving the latter at liberty to choose a man of their own persuasion. This proposition was productive of the happiest effects, as it not only tended to console the minds of the people, but permanently to establish a Christian ministry at one of the most important points of the colony. This very measure, which, when devised, was probably not expected, either by those who framed it or by the immediate recipients of its benefits themselves, to extend its influence beyond a certain limited sphere, has proved a fruitful source of good to the whole settlement. Religion is manifestly rendering the whole scheme a distinguished blessing to Southern Africa; while, without it, there is abundant reason to believe that it would have constituted one of its heaviest curses. Occurrences in the remoter parts of the settlement sufficiently prove, that had there been no public ministration of the Word, the Sacred Volumes taken out by our countrymen would most likely have lain unread, if not buried among the lumber of the settler's cottage; the Sabbath would have been in a great measure forgotten, and divine ordinances altogether forsaken. In the room of peace there would have been strife; in the place of righteousness, ungodliness would have increased; and instead of becoming a light unto neighbouring nations, the overflowings of iniquity would in all probability have rendered their place of habitation a hissing among the heathen.

The Wesleyan Methodists have been more especially interested in this settlement from its commencement, many of its enterprising inhabitants being members of that body. Their numbers were sufficiently large to

entitle them to the promised stipend (75*l.* per annum) for a minister. Consequently, application was made to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London for a suitable person; and the Rev. William Shaw was appointed to accompany them,—with this understanding, that, in the event of his removal to any other station, his place should be duly supplied by some other missionary. Hence Albany at once and properly became a missionary station, and has ever since enjoyed the fostering care and attention of the above-mentioned committee, to which it in a great measure owes its preservation from the sway of infidel principles, so banefully influential in most infant colonies.

The conflicting opinions of different classes of persons, thrown together as the settlers were, sometimes placed the pious in circumstances of the most embarrassing and trying nature; more especially in the commencement, when all their movements were of course attended with a thousand unforeseen and uncontrollable occurrences. Their crowded state on board the respective vessels—the numerous difficulties unavoidably consequent upon the landing of such a multitude of strangers on a foreign shore—and the various disappointments which less or more fell to the lot of each subsequently, naturally tended to arouse tempers and dispositions that were not always of the most happy kind. Hence it cannot be very surprising to find that disputes sometimes arose; but, on the contrary, somewhat astonishing that there should have been so few serious ones. Upon subjects strictly religious, a difference of sentiment indeed occasionally gave rise to controversy, which in one instance was carried to a lamentable pitch. Messrs. C. and B., belonging to different denominations, began to manifest a wrangling disposition soon after their embarkation, and would sometimes stand up to contend for their respective creeds before the whole of their fellow-passengers. This unchristian temper they continued to indulge, until death suddenly put them both to silence. They died in the course of a few days after their arrival at Algoa Bay, and were there buried side by side!

It may be necessary to observe that the whole of the emigrants were, from the first, divided into parties of from ten to one hundred families each. Every division had its respective leader or representative, from whom

it in many instances took its name; but that which was composed principally of Wesleyans was on this account generally denominated the "Methodist" or the "Salem Party,"* and finally settled in a range of valleys, sixteen or eighteen miles S.E. of Graham's Town. On their first arrival, the authorities deputed to point out their lot placed them upon a beautiful and picturesque plot of land, lying between the Kasooga and Kowie rivers, close to the sea, which formed their eastern boundary. There they remained six or seven weeks, during which short period many of them laboured most indefatigably. Besides the erection of temporary dwellings, numerous little patches of ground were dug up and sown with various kinds of seed; which, from the favourableness of the season and the astonishing rapidity of vegetation, promised an early reward for their toil. But no sooner had they got their families somewhat sheltered, and begun with growing pleasure to look upon the fruits of their industry, than all were required immediately to quit the place, as it was wanting for a General C. and his party. This, as might be expected, occasioned considerable confusion, and no small degree of dissatisfaction. The case, indeed, to say the least, was certainly a hard one; but it is perhaps difficult to determine whether the party suffered most from the unjustifiable partiality of those in power, or from the manifest want of judgment in its head, and others who had the management of its affairs.

The tract of country now assigned them was far more extensive than that from which they had been removed, —but by no means so beautiful, nor yet so well adapted to the purposes of agriculture. At certain seasons of the year, however, and after plentiful rains, its aspect is pleasant and the pasturage abundant. For sheep, the latter is generally superior to that nearer the sea; so that in this respect the change was decidedly advantageous. But on the other hand, the soil being exceedingly hard and dry, and the situation one in which irrigation was altogether impracticable, the work of cultivation necessarily required great labour and exertion, while the prospect of a crop was at all times exceedingly precarious. These, and other circumstances, to

* The name of their village.

which we shall probably have occasion to advert, soon reduced the number of their company.

The site of their little village and its vicinage still presents demonstrative evidence of its having formerly constituted a Kaffer seat. Mynheer B., a Dutch boor. who occupied the spot at the time of their arrival, and whose miserable reed dwelling was long used as our only chapel, had repeatedly suffered from their predatory incursions. It was but little more than a year prior to the landing of the emigrants that the tribes were compelled to vacate the Zuurveld (Sourfield, now called Albany), and to retire to the opposite side of the Keiskamma river; so that it is by no means improbable but they might look upon the numerous groups of our countrymen as so many intruders; while the latter, knowing nothing of the real character and habits of their sable neighbours, excepting from report, which represented them as the most sanguinary beings in existence, would naturally indulge much needless fear and anxiety.

From the following amusing incident, related to me by one who was present on the occasion, this will appear to have been the case:—The people, it seems, were one evening aroused and thrown into the utmost confusion by an alarming hue-and-cry, that the Kaffers were coming; that their fires had been discovered on the adjacent hills, "which they again put out to deceive us," cried the reporters. Some commenced one kind of defensive preparation, and some another, as if in the utmost danger: when, behold! the formidable and much-dreaded host turned out to be a swarm of fire-flies, which were flitting about among the bushes along the sides of the ridges, and which by their luminous appearance excited in the affrighted imagination the ideas of fire and flame! It was the custom of the natives in former wars to rush upon the Dutch colonists unexpectedly, and after securing as large a portion of their flocks and herds as they thought proper, to set fire to their houses likewise. The mud walls of two or three which shared this fate are still standing in the neighbourhood of Salem; and, as monuments of that dreadful practice would doubtless tend to strengthen the fears of the people, whenever disturbed by rumours like the above. It is, however, a pleasing fact, that in no instance whatever, that I am acquainted with, has any thing of this kind occurred since the establishment

of the British settlement. The changes effected by this event, and by the various circumstances arising out of it, are truly great and highly important to the country at large.

Often have I with peculiar pleasure contemplated the altered scene which the valley, now occupied by our Christian adventurers, presents to view. There formerly dwelt the wandering savage, whose principal delight was in the formation and execution of devastating schemes; there latterly lived the lethargic boor, with whom the accumulation of stock and "rix daalders" seemed to constitute the *summum bonum* of life; but now a Christian community is there established "a peculiar people, zealous of good works." Their tents were no sooner pitched than the standard of the cross was erected; the Sabbath of the Lord was strictly observed in their camp; and the ordinances of God's house regularly kept up amid all the confusion of change and circumstance. The voice of prayer daily ascended from their family altars; grateful thanksgiving was heard at their tables; while hymns of praise generally resounded from dwelling to dwelling at the close of day.

At that period there were but two other ministers in the whole district: one was a clergyman of the Church of England, and the other a missionary belonging to the London Society, whose ministry was confined to the Hottentots exclusively. The greater part of the settlement therefore being entirely destitute of all means of religious instruction, Mr. Shaw was at once induced to divide his labours among all the surrounding parties as far as practicable. And in this he was greatly assisted by several of the emigrants themselves, men of approved talent and character; who, as exhorters and local preachers, were appointed to visit the neighbouring locations on Sabbath days as frequently as possible, and to whose valuable and disinterested labours (little as some may have esteemed them) the settlement will be everlastingly indebted. It is worthy of remark, that a truly missionary spirit pervaded the minds of this Christian party generally. Having long been accustomed to pray for the conversion of the heathen, and to contribute, according to their ability, towards the support and spread of the gospel while at home, the circumstance of their now actually living in a pagan country seemed

to give ardour to their devotion, and an impetus to their exertions. Missionary prayer-meetings were immediately established, and missionary contributions regularly made. While one gave of the few remaining shillings he possessed, another subscribed a portion of his little herd, and a third of the first-fruits of his land, &c. These were indeed the mites of the poor, several of whom the Lord has since greatly blessed. None among them possessed abundance; and the few that had a little property almost immediately left the location, allured by other pursuits. Considering indeed the trying circumstances in which they were placed—their comparative and general poverty—the repeated failure of their crops, and the smallness of their stock, &c., their efforts in aid of Christian missions were certainly not exceeded, if equalled, in any other part of the colony; and as certain it is, that the success of our work in the regions beyond has been very materially promoted by this God-fearing band in our rear.

It was not long, however, before they, like most of the other parties, divided into many parts, some diverging in one direction, and some in another, until scattered about even to the extremities of the colony. The causes in which these separations originated were, of course, various; but the great majority of the settlers evidently went out under the most erroneous impressions; and were therefore ill prepared to meet the numerous difficulties inevitably consequent upon their project. Until their arrival, several of them seem scarcely to have been aware of the great difference there is between English and African soil; and hence, the grant of a hundred acres, the quantum promised by government to each man, appeared to carry with it the sound of a fortune. But when they arrived on the spot, and found that even thousands of acres were, in some places, not worth half as many farthings, being entirely destitute of water, and indescribably steril, their disappointment was extreme. The extent allotted to them could not, in the very best situations, furnish the farmer with pasturage for a sufficient number of cattle; and in many places, arable land was entirely out of the question. Some, therefore, would not tarry on their locations at all; and others remained but a few weeks before they became discouraged, and engaged in other speculations. Many there were whose views of the

country must have been altogether visionary, and whose success, under any circumstances, could not but be very problematical. These seem to have calculated upon spending the residue of their days without labour, supposing that the fields would produce spontaneously, that the trees of the wood would drop fruit upon their heads, and that some kind of habitations would arise for their use, without trouble. How far pen-makers, pin-cutters, &c. were likely to become good husbandmen, I leave for more sapient minds to determine; and shall merely observe, that very few of this class have succeeded. Their delight in agricultural pursuits was but momentary; and by their pitiable inefficiency many a poor family has been involved in wretchedness and misery. Others, although possessed of suitable knowledge, had no means whatever of stocking a farm, nor of providing themselves with agricultural implements, even at the reduced prices for which government offered them; and, consequently, had little prospect of immediate prosperity.

In the Salem party there were several excellent mechanics, builders, masons, bricklayers, and carpenters, &c., who found it much more advantageous to labour at their respective trades than to remain on their lands; and who, on that account, repaired to Graham's Town, where they soon obtained sufficient work and high wages. As its population, at that period, consisted almost wholly of military men, houses or accommodations were hardly to be obtained at any price. Consequently, the strangers were for some time obliged to leave their families on the location, to which they generally returned every Saturday night. "Our appearance on those occasions," said my friend Mr. P., "was often not a little amusing. We usually contrived to return in company: none of us were rich enough to buy a horse; but one or two sometimes managed to ride on the back of an ox; and all the rest walked. One carried a leg or a quarter of mutton; another a few loaves of bread; a third, a piece of pork hung over his shoulder; and a fourth, a little tea, sugar, coffee," &c.

The country being then in a great measure pathless, having scarcely any regularly beaten roads, excepting such as had been made by beasts of the field, the benighted traveller not unfrequently lost his way; and, after many fruitless endeavours to regain it was obliged

to tarry in the woods until return of day, or to spend the night in rambling about. This was the case, on one occasion, with our late lamented fellow-labourer, Mr. Threlfall; who, upon leaving Graham's Town for Salem, one evening as the sun was setting, got bewildered in the thick bush on the banks of the Kareega river. He sought and strove long to get out of the maze, but in vain. At length, being much fatigued, and finding that he was only plunging deeper and deeper into the forest, he determined on halting until dawn of day. Having tied his horse to a tree to prevent its running off, like certain of the natives in the interior,* he availed himself of its uppermost branches as a refuge from the wolves, which were prowling about on every side. After perching there until daybreak the following morning, he discovered his path, and speedily effected his escape. Before leaving the spot, however, he tied his pocket-handkerchief to one of the top boughs, whereon it remained for a considerable length of time, as a memento of the adventure.

When Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, the acting governor, visited the frontiers in 1821, he seemed anxiously disposed to afford all possible encouragement to the various classes of mechanics in Albany, and directed their attention particularly to the two principal towns of the settlement, namely, Graham's Town and Bathurst; but more especially to the latter, as great hopes were then entertained respecting the navigableness of the neighbouring river, Kowie, which was subsequently named Port Francis. He offered small grants of land to any tradesman who might feel disposed to build and settle at either of those places; of which several individuals from Salem, being, as above stated, already employed in Graham's Town, immediately availed themselves. Nevertheless, their prospects were by no means very bright, as it was then fully expected that Bathurst would become the capital; which would in all probability have been the case, had the acting governor remained in power. This place lies about twenty-six miles to the eastward of Graham's Town, and within eight or nine

* Some of the more distant tribes erect small huts in the trees, on wattled platforms constructed for the purpose, and use them for sleeping-rooms only. To this they are compelled by the dreadful ravages of wild beasts, which would otherwise keep them in jeopardy the whole night.

of the sea. Its situation is as healthy as the surrounding country is beautiful. The neighbouring hills are almost always clothed with verdure; and the elevated site of the village commands a fine view of the southern ocean. The scenery along the coast is more than ordinarily rich. Clumps of mimosæ are here and there interspersed over the extensive savannas, giving to the landscape a park-like appearance. The soil, being of a light sandy description, quickly absorbs the moisture supplied by fogs and exhalations from the sea. Here, therefore, the husbandman is much better able to dispense with the means of irrigation than in the more inland parts of the province. The various tribes of the vegetable kingdom thrive luxuriantly; and the deep foliage of the forest and coppice-wood presents to the eye a thousand lively and variegated tints.

Among the numerous companies settled in its immediate vicinity were several worthy individuals from the neighbourhood of Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, Nottingham, and Penzance. When the emigration question was started, in one of those places the adventurers were very generously assisted by a distinguished personage, who strongly recommended the overtures of government to their attention; and at a meeting held by them preparatory to embarkation, the person engaged to take charge of the party was advised by the Rev. Mr. ——, a clergyman of the Church of England, to read prayers, and occasionally a sermon likewise, to the people. A youthful zealot who happened to be present, and who had partly determined on proceeding with them, was hereby induced to ask whether he also should not be at liberty, if disposed, to preach to his countrymen on their arrival in the colony. Prejudice was instantly aroused; and, being found, on close interrogation, to be a "Methodist," his name was forthwith erased from the list!

They had not, however, been many days at sea, before it was discovered, that notwithstanding their most strenuous endeavours to prevent the exportation of Methodism, they had got an excellent old man aboard, who privately exhorted his fellow-passengers to "fear God, and flee from the wrath to come." The flame of persecution was now lighted up; and Mr. C., the party's representative, ever afterward availed himself of every opportunity to annoy and injure poor Mr. P. In the

course of the passage, his wife and son were taken alarmingly ill; but, so bitter was the spirit which prevailed against him, that it was with difficulty he obtained even the medicines provided by government, which their state rendered absolutely necessary. The above-mentioned gentleman, who had the affairs of the party almost wholly under his own control, frequently threatened, not only to deprive him of the land to which he was rightfully entitled, but of all the privileges of the settlement likewise, unless he held his peace, and kept his religion to himself. In these his boisterous menaces and unrighteous designs, this petty Nero was supported by three or four others, who were influenced by a similar spirit. "The earth," however, "is the Lord's;" and true it is, that "he reigneth:" yea, and "though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished."

Two only of those persecutors lived to see the settlement. The death of one was occasioned by intemperance and dissipation while at sea: hence, his corpse became food for the monsters of the deep! The head of the party himself fell sick immediately after his arrival at Algoa Bay; and there expired in dreadful agony, both mental and bodily. He, therefore, never set foot on the land which he had so arrogantly affected to command. Another of his comrades was taken off suddenly, and carried to the grave along with him! A fourth, being some time afterward provoked by his companion, the only survivor of the five, presented his fowling-piece at him, and lodged the contents in his breast; for which he was, of course, arrested, and brought to prison in Graham's Town. But, shocking to relate, his spirit and conduct having apparently rendered life burdensome, and filled his dungeon with insufferable gloom, the unhappy wretch chose strangling rather than life; and therefore hung himself in his cell! "Wo unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him; for the reward of his hands shall be given him: but say ye to the righteous, it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings." The poor old Methodist now began, more earnestly than ever, to call all around him to repentance, and actually became the virtual head of the party; he obtained favour in the eyes of the people, and was ever afterward looked up to as their chief counsellor in all matters of importance. His lot was cast in pleasant places; and he had literally a "goodly

heritage." His rustic cottage was no sooner built than converted into a place of worship, wherein divine service was regularly performed, until, by his steady zeal and praiseworthy exertions, we were enabled to erect a neat little chapel, which constitutes a lasting honour to his memory. This good man is now no more; but, although dead, by his works he still speaketh; and his name is held in the highest estimation by all who knew him.

Repeated attempts to people the Zuurveld had been made by the colonial government, long before the British emigrants were sent to it. Farms of several thousand morgans in extent were offered to small Dutch parties, consisting of three or four families each; and subsequently as many thousand acres to each boor separately, with the view of inducing them to settle upon this depopulated tract. The trial was again and again made, but in vain: very few, much as they desired it, were able to maintain their position, or to preserve their herds from the hands of sable assailants. Some were constrained to abandon it, and others feared to retain it; so that the wilderness remained a wilderness still. A comparatively short period, however, elapsed after five thousand British subjects had been placed upon it, before a very different scene presented itself. The desert and the solitary places were cheered by the presence of man; to make room for whom, the very beasts of the field deserted their ancient haunts: houses arose, and villages sprang into existence, as if by magic: thousands of acres, which, until then, had lain untilled, were disturbed by the plough, and rendered productive of the staff of life.

Nevertheless, the first three or four years after the commencement of the settlement were extremely trying; and numbers suffered greatly from various causes, natural as well as political. In the latter end of 1823, they were visited by one of the heaviest and most terrific storms that had ever been experienced in that quarter. The winds were most boisterous, and the rain almost incessant, night and day, for more than a week. Several large houses in town were completely destroyed. The rivers rose to an extraordinary height; insomuch that many lives were endangered, and some lost. The streamlets from the mountains became sweeping torrents, and bore down all before them. The poor people

in the country, never dreaming of water-floods rushing upon them as in a moment, in a climate so serene, and generally fine, had built their fragile habitations along the slope of hills, and converted the valleys and low lands into gardens and corn-fields. Several of these, therefore, had their dwellings, the walls of which were as unsubstantial as their foundations were unsafe, entirely carried away. Unable to build with brick or stone himself, and having no money wherewith to pay the charges of a mason, the poor man was obliged to rear a house as he could. Proceeding, therefore, with his saw and hatchet to the forest, after cutting down a quantity of strong poles and branches, he formed herewith a kind of frame; placing the former in an upright position, at certain distances from each other, and filling up the spaces with lattice-work. The whole was then plastered, or rather daubed over, inside and out, with mud. The roof was constructed of the same unpolished material, and covered with thatch. A piece of calico, or a dressed goat-skin, served for the window; and two or three rough boards, nailed loosely together, constituted the door. A fireplace and chimney built of sods or turf ornamented the interior, which was sometimes enlivened by a coat of whitewash; but which more frequently continued to retain its dark and earthy hue. Such was the habitation of many a settler in Southern Africa.

Often is the European constrained to smile on hearing the African exclaim, "There is the river," when, upon descending the rocks, or stepping into a shallow ditch, he discovers only a small streamlet meandering among the pebbles; or perhaps nothing more than a few buckets of water here and there standing in pools. This induced many of the emigrants to ridicule the idea of danger, in appropriating the banks of those insignificant rivulets to building or agricultural purposes. They now, however, learned a painful and expensive lesson; for not only were the fruits of their industry, young trees, plants, and vegetables, &c., borne down the cataracts, but even the very soil itself, leaving in many places no vestige of any previous culture whatever. The colonial wheat having proved so susceptible of rust, various other kinds of grain had been tried; and a solid-stemmed description of corn was found to be proof against the effects of this destructive disease. Of this,

therefore, and of maize, the people had sown plentifully; and were sanguine in their expectations of an abundant harvest; the prospect of which led them, in some measure, to forget the failures of former years. But, alas! the tempest blasted all their hopes, and seemed, for the moment, completely to paralyze their utmost energies.

Accidents are, of course, common to every part of the globe; but their effects are much more severely felt in a new colony than in a country whose population has been long settled. In the latter, lost property may be easily replaced, and the unfortunate are surrounded by relations or friends, who are less or more bound to afford them kindly aid. But not so with the poor emigrant in a foreign and far-distant land. Many and heavy were the losses sustained by fire. On the first arrival of our adventurers, the face of the country was thickly overspread with high grass, which at certain seasons of the year withers and becomes exceedingly dry; and as their fires for culinary purposes, &c. were necessarily kindled in the open air, nature's carpet not unfrequently caught the flame, and speedily communicated it to their wattled sheds and tents. These, therefore, together with the whole of their contents, were, in several instances, completely reduced to ashes, leaving the occupants and their helpless families utterly destitute and exposed, without either covert or bed. A Mr. B. one day came to my door soliciting relief, in a most distressed condition. His habitation had been totally consumed; and so rapid was the progress of the devouring element that one of his children also perished in the flames: a part only of its little body was found among the embers. This melancholy event was almost immediately followed by another: a party of natives pounced upon his small herd of cattle, and took away every head. In the storm, his dwelling was again destroyed, and with it his gardens also; but what rendered the case of this unfortunate man most affecting was, that, at the very time he told me his tale of wo, he was labouring under the excruciating pains of a dreadfully shattered hand, caused by the unexpected discharge of a musket that had been set for the destruction of a tiger which had done much mischief on his location. The depressed state of the settlement at length became generally known, and excited great interest, not only in the more opulent parts of the colony, but in

Britain and India also. Many highly respectable gentlemen very laudably exerted themselves for its relief, and a munificent sum was raised in various quarters, by which the condition of several was greatly ameliorated. It cannot, however, but be regretted that no plan was ever adopted (though several were suggested) whereby the benefits of this extraordinary expression of humane feeling might have been perpetuated, as this would have erected a lasting memorial to the honour of those who so generously contributed towards it.

All these various difficulties, in which the religiously disposed part of the emigrants participated in common with the rest, rendered their zealous efforts for the establishment of Christianity the more truly praiseworthy. To them belongs the high and immortal honour of raising the first English places of worship ever erected in the borders of Caffraria. No sacred edifice whatever existed in Graham's Town at the time the Wesleyan chapel was built there; hence, its opening on Sunday, November 10th, 1822, excited extraordinary interest in every part of the settlement, and great numbers came together on the occasion. The congregations consisted of all classes, as various in colour as in language; and sermons were preached both in English and in Dutch. On the following Monday a meeting of the society was held, and publicly addressed by several converted aborigines, whose grateful expressions of praise to God were uttered in their own tongue. This was of course unintelligible to the greater part of the assembly; but the Rev. George Barker, of the London Missionary Society, being likewise present, with his usual kindness acted as their interpreter. He also preached for us in the evening of that day; and in the course of his sermon took occasion to notice the astonishing change that had been effected in the country by the dissemination of Christian knowledge since he first knew it. On this subject our joy was reciprocal; nor did a difference of religious sentiment in matters of minor importance prevent our union of effort; much less did it, as prognosticated by Captain S., in any way tend to "distract the minds of the natives." No church being erected in the town for two or three years afterward, when the Rev. Mr. G. (first district chaplain) arrived, he also performed divine service in the same place, until our growing congregations rendered an

enlargement of the chapel absolutely necessary. This mutual co-operation was productive of the very best effects; for although certain doctrinal discrepancies had place among us, and were perhaps sometimes exhibited in a manner that was not fully in unison with Christian charity, the foundations of the rising fabric were happily not at all disturbed thereby, but continued to acquire increased strength and stability, until religion became at once the acknowledged stay and glory of the settlement.

S. KAY.

LONDON,
August, 1832.

TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES IN CAFFRARIA, &c.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

First tour in Kafferland—Massacre of English soldiers—Fort Wiltshire—Military traffic with the natives—Kaffer depredations—Chumie station—Value of pious interpreters—Dialogue with a Kaffer—A warning to missionaries—The celebrated Chief Gaika; his avaricious disposition; duplicity; barbarous mode of slaughter—A remarkable providence.

Having resolved on an attempt to introduce Christianity into the regions beyond the bounds of the settlement, and circumstances appearing to favour the project, we made arrangements for our first journey in the month of August, 1825. On this tour the landdrost or chief magistrate of Albany, and Major T., of his majesty's sixth regiment, proposed accompanying us as far as the Clay Pits, where a considerable number of the natives were expected to assemble about the time of the full moon. But of the company of these gentlemen we were deprived, as public business prevented their going with us: nevertheless, our way was fully open, as the former very kindly furnished us with the necessary passport, which authorized our crossing the boundary, at whatever point we might deem most proper.

Our route, therefore, different from the one first intended, being determined, the weather fine, and young Izadzoe, the interpreter, having arrived, my worthy colleague and I left Graham's Town on Saturday, 3d, as the sun was about setting. Our path was an exceedingly solitary one, leading through a bushy part of the country, infested by wild beasts, and traversed by wandering marauders. We had not proceeded far ere night came

on, and nature seemed lulled to rest; all was silence around us, not a sound being heard save that of the horses' feet, and occasional observations of the thoughtful travellers. The moon's bright beam, however, shed a cheering radiance upon the surrounding gloom, and enabled us comfortably to continue our ride, until about ten o'clock, P. M., when we reached Hermame's Kraal, a military station on the banks of the Great Fish River. Here we were hospitably entertained by a poor English soldier; who, as we subsequently learned, was a Roman Catholic; but who, nevertheless, after presenting us with a little refreshment, unhesitatingly joined us in our evening's devotions.

Sunday, August 4th.—Arose at an early hour with aching bones, having slept upon a hard wooden couch, with nothing over it but a wild beast's skin. All consideration, however, of personal inconvenience speedily merged in reflections of a far more painful nature; for on rambling to a short distance from the house, the appalling traces of those "whose feet are swift to shed blood" forcibly arrested our attention. Here were the graves of several of our countrymen, who had formerly belonged to the Royal African Corps, and who were horridly massacred by the natives on the very spot where we stood, not more than three or four years previously. We felt deeply affected while reading the different inscriptions on rude and rapidly decaying tablets, which the survivors had erected over the mangled relics of their comrades: nor was it easy to resist the thought, that, in the prosecution of our journey, we might possibly be brought into contact with the very men whose violent hands had laid these low.

It was our intention to preach to the soldiers on the station this morning; but on inquiry, we found that they had been suddenly called away to the neighbouring fort about daybreak. This induced us at once to conclude on proceeding immediately, in order that we might have an opportunity of preaching to them in the evening. The day was oppressively hot, and the surrounding country barren and steril in the extreme. When the sun had reached its zenith the heat was quite overpowering; and as there was no breeze whatever, every thing that had life seemed to gasp for breath. The mere sound of a "rippling brook" would now have constituted a luxury indeed; but no such sound could

here be heard. Hard by the road-side, indeed, we found a muddy pool, in which the elephant seemed to be in the habit of sporting himself, and quickly unsaddled our thirsty horses, that they, as well as ourselves, might enjoy the benefit of it. This done, we gladly crept into the interior of a thicket, in search of the cooling shade. To any one thus circumstanced, the figurative language of the prophets, "Rivers of water in a dry place"—"As the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," &c.,—is more than ordinarily beautiful. Having made our meal of a crust of bread and several hearty draughts of water, we consecrated our little bower by reading a portion of Scripture, and again committing ourselves to the care and direction of Almighty God.

Our road now wound into the extensive and dense forests of the Fish River, where the prospect constitutes one of the most romantic description. The stupendous mountains and precipices among which the river smoothly glides, together with the beautifully serpentine course of the stream, and the scenery of the valleys on each side, render the view highly imposing. While we were yet in the suburbs of the jungle, the shades of night overtook us; and thick darkness soon followed. Being wholly unable to see our path, we at length lost it altogether; and after wandering about for some time, entirely ignorant even of the direction in which it lay, we almost despaired of finding it, and began to think of taking shelter for the night under some of the surrounding trees. At this moment, however, the pony which carried our luggage broke loose, and ran off to a considerable distance. Fearing to lose our great-coats, &c., we moved onward in pursuit of him, at a pretty quick pace; and were hereby actually led into the right road, and to within a few hundred yards of the fort itself; where Major R., the commanding officer, received us with great kindness, immediately ordering provision to be made for our comfortable accommodation.

Monday, 5th.—We were awakened by the sound of bugles and other martial instruments, which remind one of the "din of war," and which impressed upon our earliest thoughts the affecting calls of the country for the gospel of peace. Having promised here to await the arrival of our fellow-traveller, Mr. Threlfall, who, with the interpreter, had remained behind to fulfil an appointment in town, we had the day before us for observation.

The site of the fort (on the right bank of the Keiskamma) having been selected, and its buildings planned, by Colonel Wiltshire, who formerly commanded on the frontiers, the name of that gentleman has been given to it; and troops are kept constantly stationed here, with the view of intercepting predatory bands of natives on their way into the colony in quest of booty. Being informed that a market would be held at the ford about ten o'clock, A. M., we repaired thither to witness the scene, and to secure, if possible, an interview with some of the chiefs. On the opposite bank were assembled about two hundred natives; who, upon the signal being given, instantly plunged into the river in crowds, without betraying any symptom of fear whatever. Few if any of them came empty handed: some brought baskets filled with milk, others large sacks of corn; scores of women came with pumpkins upon their heads, or otherwise laden with bundles of Indian corn, just as it had been plucked from the stalk. The articles given by the soldiers in exchange for these things were, various coloured beads, buttons, brass wire, and old pieces of iron. This market was held every Monday morning, for the exclusive benefit of the garrison; and no barter whatever for ivory or cattle was allowed. The whole was conducted with as much order as circumstances would admit; and the moment all the various commodities were disposed of, the bugle was again blown, and the noisy throng jovially retired to the opposite side of the stream; where they immediately sat down in groups to re-count and examine the amount of their gains.

Agreeably to invitation, we dined with Major R. and his fellow-officers; and on making known our wish to preach to the people, he at once acceded, and ordered a large room to be prepared for the purpose. About two hundred persons assembled at the hour appointed. Several of these had, in former years, been members of different religious societies; and many of them, from their own account, had long sat under the sound of a gospel ministry while in England. They were now, however, like sheep without a shepherd; and had not heard a sermon for some years. At the conclusion of divine service, I visited the hospital, and there saw several others of the same description. It is painful indeed thus to find, in the very borders of a heathen

land, numbers of our own countrymen who are literally perishing for lack of knowledge.

In the course of the evening two Dutch boors arrived, requesting the immediate aid of the soldiery, a number of cattle having been stolen from them by a party of Kaffers the preceding day. They likewise stated, that on their way to the fort they had intercepted a gang of those freebooters, who were driving before them about thirty oxen; all of which they recaptured, and shot two of the thieves. From these and other reports, it appeared quite evident that our path was beset with considerable danger; nevertheless, as Mr. T. and the interpreter had arrived, we resolved on proceeding early in the morning. Our next stage was to the Chumie, four or five-and-twenty miles farther northward, where we arrived in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 6th; and were heartily welcomed by our excellent friend, the Rev. J. Brownlee—as also by his colleagues, Messrs. Thompson and Bennie, who had but just before joined him from Scotland. Until they came, the former was the only missionary in Kafferland; and by his zealous exertions much had been effected towards the improvement of the people around them. He at that time sustained the office of government agent, as well as that of missionary; and had, in fact, established the station under the auspices and direction of the colonial government.

At this place, which derives its name from the neighbouring river, Mr. B. commenced his work in the month of June, 1820. The site is excellent, possessing numerous and very great advantages. The mission village stands at the foot of a high mountain, whose sides are beautifully covered with trees and shrubs of various kinds; and whose deep chasms furnish a good supply of superior timber. The water, pouring in abundance from the cliffs and precipices in front of the mountain, was led out by means of furrows and conduits, so as to render irrigation practicable to a considerable extent. Thirty-two square houses had been erected by the natives, according to a plan laid down by Mr. B.; and to each of these was attached a small plot of garden-ground. The whole formed one long street; at the head of which, on each side, stood the mission cottages; and between them an excellent church has since been built. In the background there were about twenty-

eight huts, constructed after the manner of the natives: dwellings of this description were not allowed to form any part of the village plan; and were therefore placed irregularly around the cattle-folds, where they served as a kind of guard by night. The number of inhabitants actually settled at the institution was upwards of two hundred, inclusive of children; and the population in the neighbourhood appeared to be considerable. The surrounding country is fine and very fertile, affording abundant pasturage for cattle, and possessing a soil that might be rendered exceedingly productive, if properly cultivated.

Thursday, 8*th*.—The mission-bell was, as usual, rung at sunrise, when the people immediately assembled for divine service. At the request of Mr. Brownlee I read a few verses of Scripture, and made two or three plain explanatory remarks, which were interpreted by Tchadchoo; he then concluded with prayer in the native tongue, and in an affecting manner implored the blessing of God upon his perishing countrymen. Being desirous of an interview with the chief, as well to acquaint him with our arrival in his territories as to ascertain his mind respecting our object, we despatched a message to him expressly upon this subject. Little hope, however, could be entertained of his coming to see us, as he appeared to be labouring under considerable apprehension and fear; certain persons in authority having strangely attempted to seize and make him prisoner, a short time previously. This measure was as injudicious as it was unsuccessful: and one that will not soon be forgotten. He immediately afterward retired into a sequestered spot, in the very heart of a dense forest, where he continued to spend the greater part of his time, and could rarely be induced to appear in public.

Our messenger returned without seeing him, and hence brought us no reply; we therefore determined on proceeding to his old residence, which he still occasionally visited, thinking we might perchance find him there. Previously to starting all joined in prayer for Divine guidance; human agency was acknowledged before God as being very weakness itself; and the abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit earnestly implored, in order to the prosperity of missionary effort.

Our horses were then saddled, and Mrs. Brownlee

kindly replenished each one's scrip with provisions for the road. As we were all wholly unacquainted with the country, Mr. Bennie afforded us his services as guide, and thus superseded the necessity of our engaging any other. The appearance of our little company, when fairly off, was somewhat odd; and, to a European eye, amusing. All were dressed in jackets and trousers; the latter were made of leather, and preferred on account of their being proof against thorns and other prickly bushes through which we had frequently to pass. Some wore straw hats, others fur caps; one carried a fowling-piece, another a heavy musket; while an extra horse bore our great-coats and sheep-skin blankets; which constituted both beds and covering for the night.

Little more than half an hour's ride brought us to Gaika's habitation; but no chief was there. His son Mokomo, however, informed us that he fully expected him soon, in consequence of the message we had sent, and which had been promptly forwarded to him. Leaving information as to where we intended halting for the night, and promising to return as soon as we heard of the chief's arrival, we again proceeded. From hence we continued our journey for about two hours and a half, when, coming to an elbow of the great mountain chain, which here runs off in an easterly direction, we found a small native village nearly deserted. The principal of its inhabitants had gone with their herds to a distance; on discovering which, we felt half-inclined to go forward to another horde, still farther on, wishing to ensure a prospect of communicating some little instruction during our stay. But having partly promised here to await the arrival of intelligence from Gaika, and being earnestly importuned by an old native to alight and rest, we at length resolved on remaining. The neighbouring hamlets were all speedily apprized of our arrival, so that an hour had scarcely elapsed before numbers came to see the strangers. On inquiring where we could sleep, our aged host silently pointed to his threshing-floor; a small circular enclosure, surrounded with poles and branches. A fire was immediately kindled for us; and around this every one unceremoniously crowded, drawing us, at the same time, into conversation upon various subjects.

The value of a pious interpreter is incalculable, as he

frequently opens our way to the minds of the people in the most happy and successful manner; introducing subjects in the precise form and phraseology that is most likely to arrest their attention, and impress the heart. Of this we had a clear proof while squatted around our evening fire. Tchadchoo, being a Kaffer himself, and experimentally acquainted with divine things, soon began to testify of these things to the sable visiters. His conversation with them gave rise to a number of interesting questions, all of which were proposed with becoming seriousness. There was no chief present, and hence every one spoke with the utmost freedom. The presence of their rulers oft-times induces a kind of reserve in the lower orders, which altogether prevents our getting at their real sentiments. At the conclusion of a brief address, delivered with the utmost plainness and simplicity, all were requested to kneel before Jehovah, Maker of heaven and earth, and to keep silence while prayer was made unto him; which was strictly attended to. Amid the stillness of the desert, and the darkness of night, this little group bowed with their faces on the earth; and the solemn echo of rocks and glens only seemed to vie with the voice of supplication, while our petitions ascended heavenward on their behalf.

The following conversation then took place, in the hearing of all present:—

"It appears, then," said one of the natives, "that God requires men to pray all their lives, even to death: now this is too hard. If the Almighty would be satisfied with two or three days' praying, that might be done; but to pray all our lives is too hard."

Missionary.—Those who pray sincerely will soon find that it is not a hard work, but pleasing and delightful. A child finds it very difficult at first to attempt walking, but it soon takes great delight in running about.

Kaffer.—I am now growing old: I have lived long in the world, without God; therefore it is of no use for me to change now.

M.—You should consider it a mercy that now, at the latter end of your life, God has sent his Word to you: the older you are, the more reason there is for you to change, because you must soon appear before "the judgment-seat of Christ."

K.—But you say God is almighty, and can do all things: why does he not change me at once himself, without sending teachers to tell me what I must be?

M.—God is truly almighty, but he uses means to effect what he designs. It is the same with the soul as with the body: he could give us bread from heaven; but every one knows that he does not do so. Your women have first to dig the earth, and plant, and sow the seed; and then he sends rain upon it, whereby the corn and pumpkins are made to grow, and become food. Even so it is in spiritual things. God sends teachers to proclaim his word: this you must hear and believe: repent of your sins, and pray that he will save you. Fear the Lord, and renounce the service of Satan, who leads you on in sin, in order to destroy you for ever.

K.—But why does not God change Satan first? We are told that he is very wicked: and I know that he troubles me, and pushes me on to bad things. Why then does not God first convert him?

M.—Satan was the first sinner: no person tempted him; and as he sinned without being tempted, God cast him into hell, where he must remain for ever. God will not have mercy on him: but upon man it hath pleased him to have pity; yea, him hath he loved, and given his only-begotten Son to die for us; so that "whosoever believeth shall not perish, but have everlasting life."

Here the subject of redemption by Christ was enlarged upon, and the conversation ended. His companions and prompters seemed highly delighted when they thought he had asked any question that was likely to puzzle us; and some of them certainly evinced more than ordinary shrewdness. We had, however, more than once, the satisfaction of hearing Tchadchoo, after interpreting some of our replies, exclaim, *Nu is hij stom*, "Now is he dumb;" signifying, that his objections were silenced. From the whole, a much greater degree of acuteness and skepticism was apparent than we had expected to find, among this wild and untutored race

At the conclusion of this dialogue, the head man of the hamlet arose, and made an animated oration of some length, in opposition to the skeptical arguments of the one that had just sat down. He maintained that every thing around him, mountains, rivers, grass, cattle, and even his *ingubu*, "beast-skin garment," proved the truth of what had been said respecting the being of a God;

that God had sent *abafundis* into the land, to teach its inhabitants; and that it was, therefore, their duty to receive and hear them. "If even a child," said he, "were to call out to us, as we passed a *kloof*, or 'bush,' and begin to tell us any thing respecting Jehovah, ought we not to stop and listen? How much more then when white men come from a distant land, for this express purpose! The word of the missionaries," added he, "ought to be received without disputation;" and, addressing the man who had been contending with us, he observed, "You admit that you know nothing; why then cavil at the great Word? These men you know to be much superior to you; they know more; and they come with God's Word in their hands!" All this was expressed with so much force, and natural eloquence, that every one listened with the greatest attention, and soon afterward, quietly rising from their seats, walked off to their respective homes. As it was now getting late, we prepared to make the best of our uncovered lodgings, by no means the most comfortable, during a dark, cold night. Committing ourselves, however, to the providence of Him whose "eyelids neither slumber nor sleep," we wrapped our great-coats about us, as the Highlander does his plaid, and made the saddles serve as substitutes for pillows.

Friday, 9*th*.—We waited some hours, hoping to hear something respecting the chief; but no messenger appearing, it was unanimously determined that we should proceed as far as old Captain Tchadchoo's place of residence, at least. Although the ride was comparatively short, we passed several small villages; out of which the natives, men, women, and children, came running to meet us, in crowds. Their clamour for beads and buttons, &c. was intolerable: no miser was ever more eager for gold. Some begged, and others wished to barter; bringing with them abundance of milk and corn for sale.

Soon after twelve o'clock we arrived at the old captain's dwelling, and, to our great mortification, learned that Gaika had left it a few hours previously. Here we found fifty or sixty great stout fellows busily employed in cutting up an ox which they had just slaughtered, and parts of which were already upon the fire. When we entered the fold, all became mute, and for some minutes stood silently gazing upon each other, until at length

the old man, recognising his son in the interpreter, arose to welcome him; upon which, all present followed his example, and gave us the hand in token of friendship.

Young Tchadchoo was committed, by his aged father, to the care of the late Dr. Vanderkemp, who endeavoured to commence a mission among this people in 1799; and who, after encountering many difficulties and hardships in the attempt, again returned to the colony. He is now an honour to his patron, and likewise to all who have had the care of him since Dr. Vanderkemp's death; being truly pious, and able both to read and write.

Having no better place, we took up our abode under the thorn hedge enclosing their corn-lands, whither a present was sent us by the chief, consisting of about twenty pounds of beef; but as it had been rolled about among the dirt of the cattle-fold (a custom by no means uncommon) its appearance was, of course, far from tempting. The people were here much more rude and dissipated than those with whom we had spent the preceding evening: to arrest their attention, or to keep silence during the time of divine service, was almost impossible. This, in all probability, was owing to their being at a much greater distance from the missionary institution, and consequently altogether unaccustomed to such exercises. The following morning found us still in a state of considerable perplexity; wishful to proceed right through the country as far as the coast, but doubtful as to the propriety or even safety of such a step, since we had not yet seen the chief. After mature deliberation, it was deemed most advisable to return; but, when about taking leave of our aged host, a number of natives came up, driving before them several young cows and oxen, which they desired us to purchase. This we declined, and at the same time explained to them the difference there is between a merchant and a missionary. The remotest resemblance of the former cannot be too cautiously guarded against by the latter, as it would inevitably be most baneful in its influence upon his own mind, and more especially upon that of the people; besides which there are those who would gladly avail themselves of such a circumstance for the purpose of charging upon him secular rather than spiritual views, and of hereby traducing the char-

acter of Christian missions. Instances are happily rare of any thing like just occasion for such accusations: one, and only one, occurs to my recollection, which was attended with consequences the most lamentable, and which I shall therefore here mention as a warning to all whom circumstances may endanger.

Among the missionaries who first visited the interior of Southern Africa was a Mr. ——, who at one time distinguished himself by more than ordinary zeal, and who was accompanied on his mission by a half-caste native, well disposed, and apparently calculated to be useful. These two stationed themselves within a short distance of the residence of one of the principal chieftains, who, like many others, was manifestly more anxious to have traders than teachers settled among his people. They had not been there long before Mr. —— seems to have sunk amid the difficulties of his task; and concluded that the ignorance, apathy, and heathenism of the multitudes around him were such as to render their conversion entirely hopeless. From a regular assembling therefore of such as were willing to hear, he gradually relaxed his efforts, and merely preached to those that happened occasionally to fall in his way, so that the grand errand on which he had been sent soon became a secondary object. Traffic now presented prospects of an alluring description, but was at first resorted to under the plausible pretext of bringing the people together for instruction. At this point, however, it did not stand long; for as numbers repaired to their place of encampment daily with ivory, skins, and natural curiosities for sale, his attention, as well as that of the assistant, was at length wholly engrossed. The former becoming jealous of his companion, whose influence among the natives was considerable, a separation took place, upon which each set up a distinct trading establishment some miles apart. Mr. ——, being somewhat acquainted with the art of working in iron, then contrived to ingratiate himself with the people by doing various little jobs for them, such as repairing their spears, sharpening their battle-axes, &c., which enabled him in a great measure to monopolize the trade.

Thus did this unhappy man apostatize himself, and moreover prove the instrument of ruin to his half-enlightened companion, who was ultimately assassinated by his own servant. After returning from one of his

journeys to the colony, whither he had been with elephants' tusks, &c. for sale, a native, who had accompanied him, and whose services he had refused to reward according to promise, became infuriate, and determined on taking his master's life. For this purpose, he placed himself in ambush early one morning, and when poor C——, according to general custom, was going to look at the herd, he discharged at him the contents of his musket, which laid him lifeless at the fold-gate! Mr. ——, indeed, who, as might be expected, soon afterward deserted the mission field altogether, still survives; but is a professed infidel, and appears to be given up to extraordinary hardness of heart, and to a completely reprobate mind, insomuch that he ridicules the very idea of religion!

The inhabitants of one of the hamlets, who annoyed us exceedingly when passing there before, coming out with lances and clubs, which they brandished about in a terrific manner, now behaved themselves much more agreeably; and it is worthy of remark, that wherever we came, our character as missionaries was no sooner announced than a degree of confidence immediately displayed itself. All seemed as if impressed with a conviction that they had nothing to fear from those who proclaimed "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men." About two o'clock, P. M., we reached the residence of Mokomo, who informed us that his father had arrived, and was then at his own dwelling, about half a mile distant. Agreeably to our request, he gave us a guide to the spot: and after leading us across the Chumie river, and through the forest on its banks, the latter brought us into a kind of recess among the hills. Here we found the celebrated Gaika sitting, or rather reclining, on the ground, surrounded by a number of his counsellors. He immediately arose to shake hands with us, and having told us to unsaddle, again threw himself upon the grass. On his left sat one of his chief captains, whose neck was ornamented with a seal and chains, and on whose bosom he leaned in true oriental style.

Having taken our seats in front of him, we waited for some time without proposing any question whatever, agreeably to the advice of Tchadchoo. During this interval, which he occupied in conversation with his men, we had an opportunity for attentively observing

his person. He was not very tall, as represented by some, but a good-looking and well-proportioned man. Around his head was a narrow band, studded with white and black beads, disposed in such a manner as to form the shape of diamonds or triangles. His inguboo, or robe, was made of panthers' skins; and from its appearance seemed to have long formed a royal garment. Like all his male subjects, he had no other dress or covering whatever; and this was but carelessly thrown over his shoulders. His right forearm was in a great measure covered with metal rings, as were also the two thumbs and third fingers of each hand with brass rings, that had been presented to him by different visiters. On one of these was inscribed the word "Hope;" but the wearer was, I fear, any thing but a hopeful character. He was evidently capable of assuming a very majestic air; and his appearance at first sight was somewhat prepossessing. His carriage among his subjects was such as to produce the most servile reverence; and, with the exception of a favoured few, all were kept at a very respectful distance.

After keeping us waiting for a considerable time, which was evidently done with the view of increasing his importance, rather than from the urgency of any business that he had in hand, he abruptly turned round and asked, "What news have you brought? whence come ye? whither are you bound? and what object are you pursuing?" all which are the usual inquiries of a Kaffer on his first meeting a stranger. In replying thereto, we informed him, that having obtained the governor's leave to visit his country, we were desirous of knowing his mind respecting the establishment of a mission among some of the clans near the sea; that our design was to proceed direct to the coast; but not having succeeded in obtaining an interview with him on our first arrival, we had now returned for that purpose. With all this he seemed to be perfectly satisfied; but instead of giving us any answer, he broke away from the subject altogether, saying, "And what about the colony?" This question put us in a strait, not knowing exactly what kind of intelligence he wanted, nor, indeed, what information it would be prudent to communicate to him. We were, however, relieved, on finding that a detail of some trifling occurrences which

we should not otherwise have thought worth mentioning, fully satisfied him on this head.

He then wished to know what news we had respecting England; upon which, after stating a few circumstances of general interest, we took occasion to describe the great changes which Christianity was effecting in different parts of the world, informing him that kings like unto himself, together with the whole of their people, inhabiting certain islands in the *Uluwanhle* [sea] had been thereby induced to renounce their heathenish customs, and were consequently rendered peaceful and happy. "Yes," said he, "when men receive the Word of God and become Christians, I know it will make them happy, and wars will cease. But I am afraid that will never be the case with the Kaffers: they are too slim" (sly or cunning), probably meaning that they were too wise to be imposed upon by our religious fables.

His last inquiry, and the one in which he evinced most interest, was respecting one Lynx, a Kaffer of considerable celebrity, who was taken prisoner at the close of the colonial war with the frontier tribes. This man proclaimed himself as a prophet, and was held in very high estimation throughout Kafferland. Robin Island was the appointed place of his captivity, from whence he endeavoured to effect his escape along with several other convicts in 1820, and perished in the attempt. The boat in which they essayed to cross Table Bay upset or foundered, and all were lost. Being in Cape Town at the time this circumstance occurred, and when the corpse of Lynx was thrown out upon the beach, I was enabled to speak positively respecting the whole affair. Gaika, however, smiled at the idea of his being drowned; and from his manner, it was clear that he deemed this utterly impossible. Previously to his being taken, the pretender boldly affirmed that whatever power or force might be employed against him, or wherever the white people might take him to, it would be of no avail, as they could not possibly detain him; but that after all he should most certainly return to his own country and kindred again. To the accomplishment of this prophecy his countrymen look forward with the most implicit confidence. Hence all that we said on this subject was evidently regarded as a fabulous story, invented for their amusement.

Having given the chief all the information he appeared to require, we again reminded him of the main question; upon which he stated that the whole of his *amapakati*, or "council," must be assembled before he could decide upon it. We now suspected that he was about to perplex us; but on requesting him to call his council together as speedily as possible, the day being far spent, he immediately withdrew in company with several of his chief captains, which induced a hope that the business was in train, and that it would soon be brought to a satisfactory close. Having eaten little all day, we availed ourselves of this opportunity to take some refreshment; and seeing one of his concubines busily engaged not far from where we sat in preparing a pot of corn, we entreated her to sell us a portion, which she did. As the dish consisted simply of boiled grain, we mixed a small quantity of sugar with it, to render it somewhat more palatable: this improvement instantly caught the eye of the chief, who unceremoniously left his companions, and came, begging like a child, that we would give him some to put in his mess.

Some time having elapsed, during which he had been fully engaged in conference with those around him, we again ventured to ask whether he had come to any determination; but he very indifferently waived the question, saying many of his counsellors were still absent. In a few minutes afterward, however, he called the interpreter aside, and desired him to tell us that he must first know what kind of presents we had brought before he could give us an answer. This request being complied with, he wished to see them, and earnestly begged that we would carry them to him with the utmost privacy. That we might be the better able to do this, he walked carelessly off to the brow of the hill on which his hamlet stood, and there hid himself from public view. His object herein was, to conceal from his people whatever he might receive at our hands, lest, by their importunity (which is a source of perpetual annoyance to the chiefs as well as to visiters), they should weary him out of them.

Every shade of dignity, and all appearance of greatness, was now entirely thrown aside; and in this sable ruler (sometimes designated king) we found a lying, sordid, avaricious, and beggarly wretch. All that we could present appeared to leave him dissatisfied. The

quality of the gifts was highly extolled, but the quantity was "not worth acceptance;" and while this royal mendicant was exclaiming against us as mean and niggardly, with a view of extorting something more, one of his wives, who had made bold to join our company, turned thief in the very midst of us, and managed, with sharper-like dexterity, to steal an excellent silk handkerchief belonging to Mr. Threlfall. While he was busily engaged she drew it out of his pocket, and got completely off with it ere we were aware.

The fellow now informed us that he should not be able to decide upon the matter in question so soon as we wished; but would send us a final answer to the mission village the following morning. We hereupon intimated that it would be the Lord's day, and that, if he would assemble his people, we would gladly return and preach to them. To this he instantly acceded with apparent pleasure. We therefore saddled our horses and bade him good-night, rejoicing in the opportunity thus secured (as we thought) of warning those black courtiers and their sovereign to "flee from the wrath to come." But, alas! the whole tended only to discover more fully their wickedness and duplicity; for scarcely had we been riding a quarter of an hour, before a messenger came post-haste after us, stating that Gaika could not be seen the following morning, as he was just about commencing a journey.

Sunday, the 11th, was spent at Chumie, the only place in all Kafferland, taken in its utmost length and breadth, at which the Sabbath of the Lord was kept, or even acknowledged! An old thatched house was set apart as the sanctuary, and crowded to excess with half-naked pagans both morning and evening. No sooner had the bell begun to ring, than men, women, and children appeared, by their shouts, to give echo to its sound from hut to hut, until all were on the move towards the *inhluka utixo*, "house of God." Brother S. and I preached to them at the request of Mr. B., through the dull medium, as usual, of interpretation. Several were obliged to stand outside on both occasions; and the congregation within presented a sight at once novel and interesting. Some sat on the ground; others on stones, brought for the purpose; and a third class on pieces of plank, raised above a foot from the floor. I could not but remark that every one seemed to know his own

place, and repaired to it with as much order as is observable among the regular hearers in one of our chapels when going to their family pews. A marked seriousness and decorum were manifest throughout the whole audience during the time of divine service. In the singing, all present, even to the children, joined most heartily. Their concluding hymn is said to have been composed by a native chief, who was converted to Christianity through the instrumentality of the late Mr. Williams, of the London Missionary Society; and was sung to a native air, remarkable for its plaintiveness and simplicity. In the afternoon they were publicly catechised respecting what they had heard in the morning; and it is evident that a few had been meditating upon the word spoken. When circumstances enable them to lay aside their beast-skin mantles and procure decent clothes, their solemn assemblies will assume a still more pleasing aspect.

At the conclusion of the morning sermon, and when the congregation had withdrawn, we found two of the chief's servants standing at the door, which induced us to ask whither their master was gone. They were evidently surprised at the question, until informed of the reason for our asking it, and of the message that had been sent after us the preceding evening, at which they laughed heartily; and, by their manner, gave us to understand that this was only one of Gaika's tricks. "He is," said they, "where you saw him, and has not been absent at all." They then showed us a fat cow and an elephant's tusk, which he had sent, requesting that we would send him a quantity of beads in exchange for them. We desired them to return, and inform him that we had no need of any thing of the kind; that it was the Lord's day, and therefore not a day for traffic; that we were not traders, but missionaries; that we wished to know why he had acted in the manner he had done; and, finally, when and where he would oblige us by another interview.

When about bending our course homeward the following morning, a messenger arrived, stating that the chief desired to see us. We immediately complied with the request, hoping that things had now taken a more favourable turn; and were not herein disappointed. Our drooping spirits were cheered; and every thing around seemed to assume a reviving aspect. The path led over

gently rising hills, and gave us a delightful view of the picturesque valleys below: the weather was fine, though somewhat cold; and the glistening snow on the peaks of distant mountains forcibly reminded us of "home, sweet home." We were clamorously greeted by numbers of natives, male and female, whom we passed, on their way to the institution, laden with pumpkins, corn, and milk, for sale. *Bassaala*, *bassaala* ("Give, give us a present"), accompanied every salute.

On our arrival at Gaika's residence, we were told that he was still asleep in his hut; having been engaged in one of his nocturnal revels; like the great and noble of other lands, he was turning day into night. We therefore took a stroll into the cattle-fold, where his servants were preparing to kill a fat cow; this gave us an opportunity of observing their cruel and indescribably barbarous mode of slaughtering. Their first object is to entangle the animal, by means of strong thongs dexterously cast and drawn about the legs; it is hereby almost instantly thrown down, and bound fast. An incision is then made with the *umkonto*, or spear, a little below the breast; and a strong muscular fellow ferociously thrusts in his arm, and savagely grasps "life's brittle thread." Having laid firm hold of the parts immediately connected with the seat of vitality, by a sudden and shocking wrench he breaks the grand medium of communication between the heart and head. The thongs are then unloosed; and the poor beast is left fully at liberty to struggle in agony the most dreadful. It not unfrequently rises from the ground, and stands tottering with part of the bowels hanging out, until the gurgling current has inwardly expended itself, when it again drops, and expires. The apathy with which this horrid sight is witnessed by the crowd furnishes another awful proof of the natural callousness of the human heart.

Before this business was finished the chief made his appearance; and two of his sons also arrived, together with several of his men, all armed in the usual manner. After shaking hands with each of us, he began by saying the women had told him, that he had behaved in a very unbecoming manner towards us. "They told me so," said he, "so I hope you will forgive me, seeing I have now made my confession." In reply, we gave him to understand that the best way in which he could atone

for so unfriendly a measure would be by favouring us with a speedy and satisfactory answer to the question proposed to him at our last interview. For a while he strove to evade the point, by a number of frivolous inquiries and irrelevant remarks; pretending he should be glad if we could remain all day with him; affecting to feel much when called to decide in such matters; greatly magnifying the importance of his situation; and, as if to annoy us, ever and anon ran off from the business altogether, and entered into conversation with one or other of his men respecting circumstances of the most trivial nature. It now became obvious that our project had aroused his jealousy, and that he was fearful lest the establishment of a mission with any of the other clans should tend to lessen his influence, or render them more independent. At length, however, as if constrained in spite of himself, he signified his approval of our wish to visit Pato, or Kongo; and intimated, that if we found them agreeable, he thought there could be no other obstacle to prevent the accomplishment of our object. That closed our suit at the court of this capricious monarch; to whom we immediately bade adieu, and rode off as speedily as possible, not giving him time to alter his decision.

The missionary brethren from Chumie accompanied us nearly to the residence of Makooa, where we parted; they returned home, and we pursued our course, following a route somewhat different from that by which we entered Kafferland. Being both hungry and thirsty, we stopped at one of the hamlets in our way, and with five or six buttons procured a basket or two of sour milk, which furnished us with a refreshing meal. Just as the sun disappeared we came to a fine fountain, and there halted. As usual, the grass was our bed, and the saddles our pillows, while the spreading branches of a large tree served, in some degree, to shelter us from the chilling dews of night. Being now in an unoccupied part of the country, our fires were kept burning, as well for protection as comfort; and our repose was undisturbed, excepting by the shrill screams of the jackal, which occasionally awoke us.

Soon after leaving this place the following morning, I experienced a remarkable interposition of Divine Providence, which I cannot but record with sincere and heartfelt gratitude to Almighty God. When on full gallop

through a bushy valley, not far from Fort Wiltshire, my horse suddenly plunged into a deep pit that had been dug by the natives, for the purpose of ensnaring game. It was completely concealed from view by the high grass which grew around it, so that the danger could not possibly be perceived until one had arrived upon its verge. The tremendous manner in which the horse came down threw me, not only over his head, but entirely across the pit; and in his struggle to get out the girths both broke, which enabled him to disburden himself of the saddle also. The violence of the shock, together with a blow from the horse's foot on one side of my head, left me almost senseless and altogether helpless, until opportunely aided by the interpreter. The common practice of the Kaffers, as also of other classes of natives, is to fix a sharp-pointed post in the centre of these holes, designed and calculated to effect a deadly wound in whatever may fall upon it. Happily the post was not standing, or the poor beast must have been killed on the spot. Instances have occurred in different parts of the country in which both horses and riders have perished in this awful manner; hence the utmost caution is absolutely necessary when riding in mere game paths, or through those parts that have not been much traversed.

CHAPTER II.

Kaffer depredations at Bathurst—Illicit traffic with the natives—Trader murdered—Wesleyville established—The Colony indebted to missionary influence—Kongo's visit to Graham's Town—Its happy effects—Stillness in the native territory at night—Site of mission station—Descendants of old Kongo—Barrow's account of—Chief murdered—Sham fight—Commercial intercourse established.

During the year 1823, the marauding incursions of the natives led to the adoption of desperate measures. About the month of June a band of them made their appearance near Bathurst; and, availing themselves of the unfavourable state of the weather, which was wet and cold, and which had induced negligence on the part of the herders, drove off a number of cattle belonging to

various individuals. They were discovered in the act by a person who happened to be out in search of his horse, and who strove to make them relinquish their spoil. So far, however, were they from being intimidated by his endeavours, that they turned round and pursued him. Hence, he was under the necessity of effecting his escape with all possible speed.

On his reaching the village and reporting the circumstance, two or three small parties were instantly armed, and sent off in different directions. But long ere they could get to the spot whence the herd had been taken, the plunderers had secured themselves in the thicket, whither it was perilous in the extreme to follow them. A despatch was forwarded without delay to the commanding officer at Kaffer Drift, the nearest military station, informing him of what had taken place, and soliciting his aid. He consequently sent forth detachments of soldiers along the banks of the Fish River, with orders to place themselves in ambush at the different avenues through which the robbers must necessarily pass in returning to their own country. By these means they were effectually intercepted; and at one of the fords six or eight of them fell under the balls of the troops, who thus succeeded in recapturing the whole of the cattle. Such was the manner in which numbers of those poor creatures carelessly hazarded their lives for the sake of an ox; and such the awful manner in which hundreds of them have been hurled into eternity amid heathenish darkness!

It may, however, be observed, that the untutored Kaffer was not the only person who, at this period, put himself in danger for the sake of illicit gain. Notwithstanding the most positive prohibition, the wisdom of which was certainly questionable, of all commercial intercourse with the tribes, a clandestine traffic was carried on by some of the colonists, at the imminent risk of their lives. In order to elude the various patrols which were constantly traversing the frontier line, these usually made their way through the woods into the native territory by night; and thus, fool-hardily, threw themselves in the way of both wild beasts and savage men. The following distressing and melancholy occurrence sufficiently shows what peril attended the proceedings of this class of adventurers; many of whom must inevitably have shared an equally awful fate, had the

Kaffer been half as blood-thirsty as some have represented him to be.

Mr. ——, whose location was near the Fish River, and not far from one of its principal fords, had for some time been in the habit of trading with the natives for ivory and cattle. Having providentially escaped the dangers that beset his path from time to time, he had become hardened in his pursuit, and apparently heedless as to consequences, although the law threatened him with its heaviest penalties. Violence, however, at length overtook him; for while plodding homeward through the bushy glens and dismal ravines which bound the above-mentioned river, a company of natives met, and made an attack upon him. It is more than probable that their object was merely to rob him: but meeting with resistance, a combat ensued; and having no protection, or any assistance whatever, the unhappy man was overpowered and killed on the spot! His mangled remains were brought to Graham's Town for interment, on the twenty-fifth of June, followed by a distracted widow, and seven poor children!

While these events were regarded with apathy by some, and with vengeful feelings by others, who loudly clamoured for the utter extirpation of the blacks altogether, by the missionary they could not but be viewed as so many additional proofs of their crying need of the gospel. We had some time previously memorialized his excellency the governor for permission to commence our projected mission with the clans of Pato and Kongo, and had the pleasure of receiving a favourable reply to our petition, shortly after these lamentable occurrences took place. This we hailed as the presage of a more peaceful era; and about the middle of November following, my excellent coadjutor went to begin the mission, accompanied by a pious artisan from Albany, who was engaged to take charge of its secular affairs. Scarcely had a month elapsed after their departure, before the Rev. Mr. Ross, of the Glasgow Missionary Society, arrived; destined to the same important field. Thus was the number of labourers speedily increased; and the means of enlightening those dark lands happily multiplied.

It now became fully evident that missionary influence was the grand instrument designed by Divine Providence for breaking down the numerous barriers which enmity, prejudice, and fear had from time to time set up between

the colonist and his sable neighbours. The respective chiefs hereby began to gain confidence, which had in a great measure been destroyed by mutual hostilities, by a rigid system of non-intercourse, and by the governor's formal recognition of Gaika as sole representative of Caffraria; than which no measure could have been more inconsistent with the internal government of the natives, or more calculated to promote jealousies and strife among the different tribes.

Soon after the establishment of our mission with Pato, the old chief S'Lhambi (for whose head a large sum had been repeatedly offered) consented, as did also several other minor chiefs, to meet the commandant of the frontiers, on the banks of the Keiskamma, to confer upon certain matters of importance, both to the colony and the Kaffer territories, provided the missionary would accompany them. And in the latter end of April Kongo ventured to visit Graham's Town, accompanied by a small party of his men. He had previously obtained leave for this purpose from Major S.; and was, I believe, the first Kaffer chief that had visited the settlement since its establishment—or, indeed, since the cessation of war. They came without a single weapon, no man having in his hand so much as an assagai, or spear; without which they seldom or ever move a mile, even to visit their friends. This, therefore, furnished a singular and striking proof of their full confidence in the friendly disposition of their new neighbours, although well aware of the numerous injuries sustained by many of the latter from the predatory incursions of their countrymen. These shrewd men manifestly drew a very marked distinction between the old colonists and the English: towards the former they appeared to indulge an inveterate antipathy, grounded on the unrighteous acts of former days.

On their arrival they came direct to the mission-house; and expressed themselves as being perfectly at home, and quite confident of all necessary protection. Upon going round and viewing the face of the country, every one stood astounded at the alterations that had taken place since they themselves occupied it; which, to use their own words, "was but *izolo*—yesterday." The town seemed to be regarded by them as a kind of magical production; none could conceive how it was possible for houses so large and substantial to have

been erected, in the ordinary way, within so short a period. Our new chapel excited in their minds no small degree of curiosity. Being informed that the gallery and pulpit, &c. (which had been painted just before) were made from the timber of the forest, they expressed doubts; "Because," said one (supposing the former to be all of a piece, and the latter also), "I never saw trees so large and so curious in any part of the land." And although it was fully explained, that these things were formed of different parts, still they could not but indulge the impression that the whole constituted a mysterious work; and the more so as it was "God's house!" The chief continued silent, and appeared to be absorbed in thought; but upon asking what his views were,—with his hand on his mouth, and his eyes fixed on the ground, he replied, "To-day am I dumb, and altogether unable to talk,"—full of astonishment!

During his stay in Albany, both he and his attendants received much attention from almost all classes of the inhabitants. By Major (now Lieutenant-colonel) Somerset, Kongo was presented with various useful articles of clothing. In these he proudly rode with me to different parts of the district, unaccompanied by any other person, excepting his interpreter. This afforded him several opportunities of mingling with the congregations at public worship; which was productive of the most salutary effects. The mind of this heathen prince was hereby impressed with the importance which our countrymen attached to divine ordinances; and likewise convinced, in the best possible manner, that the gospel which we were endeavouring to introduce among his people was deemed equally necessary for the white as for the black. After enjoying these privileges, he one day very gravely observed, while surrounded by his counsellors, "I now perceive why the English are men: God has made them great, because they serve him. We are but children, and not men, because we neither know nor serve God." We are hereby forcibly reminded of the words of Moses to the ancient Israelites: "This is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people." Deut. iv. 6.

Shortly after their departure I had occasion to visit his territory, in company with Mr. William Shaw, who

had come to town for various articles that were wanted on the station. The circumstances which rendered this journey necessary being of an urgent nature, we left Graham's Town at a late hour in the evening of May 31st, and, after a dreary ride of some hours, reached a small farm called Stony Vale. Here we stopped for the night, and were kindly entertained by a relation of the venerable and celebrated Dr. Carey, of Serampore. The miserable dwelling of our host was far from being either very imposing without, or very comfortable within. When, however, our peregrinations bring us into contact with either men or things that remind us of a man so truly great, and a missionary so extensively useful, as his kinsman above mentioned, circumstances at once give place to reflections in which every minor consideration immediately merges. Those grand achievements that have already been gained by steady zeal and determined perseverance are forced upon our recollection; and the soul is at once armed against every difficulty which may lie in the path of a Christian missionary.

Although there was too much reason to fear that the shattered habitation of our friend seldom echoed the sound of family devotion, he nevertheless handed to us his Bible after breakfast, the following morning, that we might read a chapter, and commence the day with prayer. It is not only interesting, but deeply affecting, to find individuals thus scattered about in these desert places, upon whose minds the importance of religious duties was impressed in the days of youth. Although now immersed in worldly care, and led away by sensual pursuits, the appearance of a Christian minister painfully reminds them of the instructions of early life: the counsels of a pious parent, and the warnings of Christian friends, are hereby forcibly brought to their remembrance. The British settlement constitutes a field, into which have been transplanted the scions of many a pious family; whose ardent prayers are, in all probability, still ascending to the courts of heaven for the temporal, spiritual, and eternal welfare of those several branches. For such, therefore, the missionary cannot but feel, and that keenly; especially when he remembers that his own kindred are among the number of those whose eyes are fixed on a foreign land, with mingled sensations of pleasure, hope, and fear.

For the remainder of the journey our viaticum was again replenished with bread and meat, which, with an occasional draught of water, constituted our stock of provisions. The day was exceedingly hot, and, in the depths of the forest, extremely oppressive. The sky was perfectly cloudless: no rustling of the breeze was heard, nor so much as the chirping of a single bird. When we arrived at the Beeka it was quite dark; and as the ford was usually much frequented by elephants, whose paths we were obliged to traverse, it of course became necessary to proceed with the utmost caution. When once the elephant or rhinoceros has formed a path to any particular spot where they are in the habit of drinking, however far their grazing excursions may lead them from it during the day, they always return to the same course at night; and it is then extremely perilous to intercept them.

While we were ascending the eastern bank, one of these huge creatures raised the most hideous shriek I ever heard; the sound vibrated in the surrounding glens for several seconds. The animal was evidently right in front of us; and, judging, from his horrid note, could not be many paces distant. On hearing it, our horses made a dead halt; and how to act we knew not, the night being so dark that we could scarcely see each other, much less the beast before us. Our road led up a narrow neck of land, on each side of which were deep kloofs and tremendous precipices; hence, to turn off either to the right-hand or to the left was impossible with any degree of safety, and to go back we were not at all willing. After pausing, therefore, for a few minutes, we gave a hearty shout, and then proceeded, trusting for protection in Him to whom darkness and light are both as one; and of whom it is written, "He that made him can make his sword to approach unto him." To regard such narrow escapes from imminent danger in any other light than as merciful interpositions of Divine Providence would argue ingratitude of the basest kind. Having safely passed the monster, "whose bones are as strong pieces of brass, and like bars of iron, and the stroke of whose tusk would instantly lay man low," we broke the silence of the desert by singing an English hymn, with which our native companions were highly delighted.

The country between the Keiskamma and the mission

village, a distance of eight or nine miles, is extremely broken; presenting to view scarcely any thing but rugged hills and deep dales, until we come within a mile or two of the institution; hence the finale of our journey was extremely fatiguing, not only to the weary horse, but to the rider too. Night-travelling, although advantageous both to man and beast, because the air, being so much more cool than it is by day, is nevertheless far from pleasant, especially when passing through a strange country. It entirely deprives one of all the pleasure of observation, and attaches complete dreariness to the most lovely landscape.

Nothing is more striking, when entering Kafferland by night, than the remarkable stillness which universally prevails, excepting at those times when the natives are holding some festival or other. Although there were villages on every side, the inhabitants, when we passed, were all silent as death. They generally retire to rest at an early hour, having nothing wherewith to employ themselves after sunset, or at least after the period of milking. And as the day is usually spent in the open air, with a considerable degree of bodily exercise, their sleep is generally sound and undisturbed. Hence, while climbing one hill, and descending another, we heard not a single human voice; but the bellowing herds and barking of dogs, ever and anon, gave us convincing proof of their numbers in the neighbourhood. The canine species indeed form a numerous and an annoying tribe in those regions.

The morning after our arrival at Wesleyville, we were early awakened by the vociferous shouts of the people, who generally issue from their straw huts as day begins to dawn. The news of a stranger's arrival quickly flies from hive to hive, and excites the curiosity of men, women, and children, who are all anxious to see him. Hence, when we arose, several little groups were squatted in circles on the ground, waiting to salute and welcome us.

The site of the mission village is a low rocky ridge, with a beautiful valley at its base. The view is enriched by a line of large yellow-wood trees (*Taxus*, Lin.), which runs through the foreground, and forms a delightful shade in the summer season. At the foot of these meanders a small rivulet; the water of which, however, is far from being either good or abun-

dant. It partakes of a strong mineral quality; and in times of drought almost disappears, excepting in the deeper parts of the channel; there it lodges in pools, and sometimes becomes almost stagnant. Along its banks lie the mission and other garden grounds. The soil is good, and capable of being rendered very productive. On the opposite side, and right in front of the mission premises, stands the chief's umzi, consisting of a few filthy, shattered, and exposed huts: their appearance at a distance is not much unlike that of so many ant-hills. On the right the prospect is bounded by precipices, and a rough stony ridge. Here the mimosa, and various kinds of shrubbery, are thickly scattered about. In the opposite direction, the eye roams over a fine grassy plain, well studded in general with herds of cattle.

To the eastward and south-east the appearance of the country is steril indeed, until we arrive within two or three miles of the sea, where the view again changes. There the Chalumna (or *Ityolumnya*) presents to the eye a beautiful sheet of water, in which hippopotami are frequently seen playing about in considerable numbers. The estuary, however, like that of most of the other rivers on the coast, seems to be barred at its entrance both by rocks and sand; so that it serves only to beautify the landscape. The banks are in many places almost level with the surface of the stream; and although the soil appears to be much impregnated with saline matter, there are on both sides very excellent pasture-grounds. When the season is favourable, these are clothed with a luxuriant verdure, giving them the appearance of fine English meadows.

Pato's people, who occupy a considerable district extending along the coast to the eastward, are descendants of old Kongo's clan, which, according to Barrow, was formerly settled near the Sunday River, whither Gaika appears to have driven them. "Proceeding on our march," says Mr. B., "along the banks of the Sunday River, and among the vast thickets that almost entirely covered this part of the country, we fell in with a prodigious number of Kaffers, with their cattle, belonging, as they told us, to a powerful chief named Kongo. This man was at the head of all the other emigrant chiefs who had fled from the Kaffer country, eastward of the Great Fish River, on account of some enmity subsisting

between them and their king Gaika; with whom I had in vain attempted, in company with the landdrost, to bring about a reconciliation two years before. As the position he now occupied not only encroached very much upon the territorial rights of the colony, but was also far within the line actually inhabited by the Dutch boors, we deemed it expedient to endeavour to prevail upon him to move towards the eastward; and for this purpose sent a messenger to request that he would give us the meeting. The answer brought back signified that he did not care to come alone, and that he desired to know if we had any objections to receive him at the head of a certain number of his people. The messenger being told that he might bring with him any number of his attendants not exceeding thirty, he shortly made his appearance at the head of a party to that amount, each armed with an assagai, or spear.

"On being told how necessary it was for the sake of preserving tranquillity, that he should quit his present station among the boors, he replied, with great firmness, that the ground he then stood upon was *his own* by inheritance, for that his father had been cheated out of it by a Dutch landdrost of Graff Reinet; that, however, being desirous of remaining in friendship with the English, he would remove eastward in the course of three days; but that it was impossible for him to cross the Great Fish River, as there was a deadly hatred, or, as he expressed it, there was blood between Gaika and himself, and that the latter was much too powerful for him.

"The decided tone in which he spoke at the head of his small party, when surrounded by British troops, his prepossessing countenance, and tall masculine figure, could not fail to excite a strong interest in his favour. An open and manly deportment, free from suspicion, fear, or embarrassment, seems to characterize the Kaffer chiefs. Though extremely good-humoured, benevolent, and hospitable, they are neither so pliant nor so passive as the Hottentot. The poorer sort are sometimes led to seek for service among the boors, and engage themselves for so many *moons*, in consideration of so many head of cattle; and they never suffer themselves to be duped out of their hire, like the easy Hottentots. The conversation with Kongo ended by recommending him to withdraw his people and their cattle from the banks

of the Sunday River, to which he gave a kind of reluctant assent."

After being driven about for many years, by boors on the one hand and by Gaika on the other, this old chief was shot (in 1812-13) by a party of the former, while asleep in a cave, whither he had fled for refuge. The armed ruffians had long been in search of him, and having obtained information respecting his hiding-place, in a wood not far from the embouchure of the above-mentioned river, they forthwith repaired to the spot, and there killed him as he lay. One of his sons, who was with him at the time, miraculously effected his escape from those cold-blooded murderers. A war broke out shortly afterward, between the colonists and the Kaffers; upon which it was determined that the latter should be all driven beyond the Keiskamma, and allowed no place whatever within the colony. This measure cost much money and many lives.

It would appear that the banks of the Chalumna were, at a remote period, occupied by a son of Gonde, named Keitshe, who was driven from thence into the interior, by a powerful and celebrated warrior, to whom tradition traces the whole of the Kongo family. But although thus gained by the valour of their great ancestor, they by no means like it as an inheritance; but would greatly prefer the tract from which they were forcibly expelled, lying between the Keiskamma and the colonial boundary. Hence they have repeatedly, and very importunately, implored, at the hands of our government, permission permanently to settle there again. Their principal chief, Pato, is a person of minor importance, compared with the chiefs of the neighbouring tribes. His manners and exterior are any thing but prepossessing; and his mind is far from being distinguished by any thing like superior talent. Lechery and gross heathenish depravity form his most prominent characteristics. His reign is but in its infancy; and during his minority, all public affairs were transacted by his elder brother, who, consequently, still retains considerable influence in the tribe. Having been in habits of intercourse with the Dutch colonists, during the time of his father, the latter acquired a smattering of their language; and possesses a much greater degree of general information than his brother, who is therefore indebted to him for counsel and direction in almost all matters of moment.

In the course of the forenoon, several of the elders and principal men were convened to inquire of us respecting the views and plans of our "great men," as touching the Amaxosæ tribes. Every Kaffer, however humble his station in society, is a *politician;* and ever evinces the greatest possible interest in all subjects of a political nature. They were much pleased to hear, therefore, that there was some prospect of a commercial intercourse being opened with their white neighbours; which it was hoped would prove beneficial to both parties. Of this opportunity we gladly availed ourselves for pointing out to them the surest and best method of securing the numerous advantages of such a project; upon which they unanimously determined on the adoption of such plans as were most likely to put an end to those mischievous depredations that had ever and anon disturbed the tranquillity of the frontier, and given rise to severe measures against them. Every avenue leading out of their territories into the colony was forthwith ordered to be guarded; and all persons found offending against the latter, in any way whatever, to be punished with the utmost severity. "Now that we have got ears" (alluding to the settlement of Mr. S. among them as a medium of communication), "we will hear what is good for us, and for our land."

Bloody feuds not unfrequently arise between the different chieftains, each being extremely tenacious of his power, and jealous of his authority. Just before our arrival, two or three men had been slain in one of these affrays, which had risen to such a height that war was expected as the final result. When the assembly broke up we walked over to Pato's hamlet, which, like that of his brother, consisted of four or five miserable huts, and a large cattle-fold. Here there were a number of naked warriors, chiefly young men, busily employed in making shields. These consist of beast-hides, stretched out while raw, and dried in the sun until perfectly stiff: they are then cut to a certain shape, almost oval, but left sufficiently large to cover the whole body, in time of danger. One division of the company had been engaged in slaughtering, and were now attending to a prodigiously large pot, which was upon the fire, and out of which they were all about to feast at the chief's expense.

Ten or twelve of them, having spears quivering in

their right hands, and shields in the left, arose to amuse us with a sham fight. Each had upon his head a double plume of long feathers, consisting of the crane's wings complete, which, from their constituting a part of the national war-costume, are generally preserved with great care. While thus engaged, the eye sparkled with life, and vivacity beamed from every countenance. The athletic form and symmetry of some of the party rendered them figures of the finest order: but their attitudes were of the most warlike character; and in their every gesture there was a savage fierceness, strikingly characteristic of spirits with whom destruction is glory! Being desirous of taking a young lad home with me, for the twofold purpose of facilitating my own acquirement of the language, and of instructing him in English, I introduced the subject to Pato, and requested his sanction. He, however, evaded my wish by turning the conversation to various other topics, and at length signified, that his counsellors would be altogether opposed to it, "as the young man was just becoming serviceable, being able to use the umkoneto;" and therefore numbered among the warriors.

Soon after our return to the colony, a proclamation was issued by his excellency the governor, authorizing all persons of approved character, and duly licensed, to trade with the natives, who were therein declared to be at liberty to visit Fort Wiltshire weekly, with ivory, hides, and any other articles they might have for sale. It however enjoined certain restrictions and prohibitions, designed to guard the rights of the Kaffer, and likewise to preserve peace among the colonists. Various precautions also were taken to prevent quarrels and misunderstandings, which were naturally expected to arise between buyer and seller, on so novel an occasion.

To this market the trader was allowed to take beads and buttons, hatchets and agricultural implements, together with various descriptions of coarse wearing apparel, blankets, &c. But he was positively forbidden to vend either wine or spirits, arms or ammunition; things that have proved so destructive among the American Indians, as well as other barbarous nations. Numbers eagerly engaged in this new traffic, and the mart soon became a place of great resort. The different clans, far and near, flocked to it in multitudes, and frequently presented scenes both ludicrous and interesting. The

quantity of ivory brought down in the course of a few months furnished demonstrative evidence that the country beyond was by no means so poor as many had been disposed to think. It was at first apprehended that the door being thrown open for a free trade in cattle would be the means of rendering the Kaffer still more predatory and mischievous; that disposing of his oxen and kine at the market, he would inevitably reduce himself to the necessity of stealing more. This supposition, however, was founded in utter ignorance of that ardent attachment which he ever evinces towards his herds; and which at all times renders him loath to part even with a single head. He rarely disposes of a good cow at any price; but almost always selects for the market such as are no longer likely to be useful to him, in consequence of age, or some other defect. In this respect his economy is highly commendable, and places him many degrees above the improvident Hottentot.

CHAPTER III.

The spread of Christianity long opposed—Restraint on missionary effort—War of extermination—The chief S'Lhambi—Rite of circumcision—Servile respect paid to chiefs—Interesting assemblage—Mount Coke established—Thievish propensity of the natives—Remarkable birds—Pitiable state of women in war time.

Early in 1825 we began to contemplate the establishment of a second station in Caffraria; and various circumstances seemed to point out the tribe of S'Lhambi as the next object of attention. This old chief was Gaika's uncle, and the celebrated "schelm," or villain, who, in years past, spread terror throughout all the frontier parts of the colony. In the month of June, therefore, Messrs. Davis, Young, and I visited him for the purpose of ascertaining his views, and acquainting him with our design.

While passing through the dense jungle that stretches along the boundary line, reflection almost irresistibly carries one back to the circumstances and events of former years. The difficulty and singular crookedness of its paths might seem still to serve as a memento of

the perverse spirit which then predominated; and of the obstacles with which the gospel has had to contend in making way through its gloomy windings. As if with the view of rendering these dismal shades the boundary of light, as well as of liberty, the following measures were proposed by the Batavian government, in the year 1803, namely, 1. To drive the Kaffers beyond the Fish River; 2. To cut off all communication between them and the colonists; 3. To hold no intercourse with them except through the public authorities; 4. To guard the boundary by patroles of European soldiers; 5. To encourage the settlement [Dutch] adjoining Kafferland; and, 6. To discourage all missionaries except the Moravians.

In support of the last proposition, it was even alleged that the Kaffers were happier without such interference; and that to civilize them would, in all probability, injure them. In February, 1805, restraints were imposed upon missionary effort, which put a stop to the beneficial instruction that some of the natives were then receiving within the colony, and prevented those improvements of character which might have tended to allay strife between the blacks and their white neighbours. Thus was the grand engine of peace put in a corner, and the flames of hostility suffered to rise higher and higher, until the year 1811, when an exterminating war was determined on, and eighteen or twenty thousand Kaffers driven out of the colony, by force of arms. This event was productive of the most serious consequences, and doubtless proved the moving cause of numerous feuds, and of many a bloody conflict. The bare recollection of these things enhances the interest of every means by which knowledge is disseminated and amity promoted.

Just as we cleared the bush on the eastern bank a herd of elephants crossed the path, right in front of us. They rushed forth from behind a clump of trees hard by the roadside, where they had apparently been basking in the evening sun. A few seconds more must have brought us into inevitable contact, as we were proceeding at a quick pace when they arose; but as no attempt was made to intercept them they passed quietly along, without turning either to the right-hand or to the left, until safely harboured in the depths of the forest. The sight was rendered highly gratifying by our being but a few paces from them, and their movements very slow. One of the

train was quite small, probably not many weeks old. This was carefully kept in the midst of the herd, as if to prevent its straying or sustaining harm.

Night came on soon afterward, and we got bewildered, not being able distinctly to see the narrow footpaths which constituted our only guides. At length, however, we reached the cattle-folds of Kongo, whom the colonial government had now permitted to pasture his herds on a part of the ceded territory. The evening was far advanced, and all around were gone to rest. Profound silence, therefore, reigned, until broken by the echo of our shouts. These, at last, aroused the people, who answered by firing a gun, the report of which led us to the dark glen wherein they were living. Kongo, as usual, received us in the most friendly manner; and after unsaddling our horses directed us to the foot of a large tree: "There," said he, pointing to the ground, "that is the best bed I can give you." A fire was then kindled, and we were speedily supplied with basket upon basket of sour milk. Of this we supped, and soon laid down to sleep, with the bespangled arch of heaven for our only canopy.

The following morning a considerable cavalcade accompanied us from Kongo's hamlet to Wesleyville, where, according to appointment, we were joined by Mr. W. Shaw. Our road lay through an interesting part of the country, studded here and there with clusters of huts, scattered about at irregular distances from each other. By some it was deemed quite an adventure to traverse the tract we were now passing through; but nothing like hostility was anywhere manifested.

At S'Lhambi's residence we arrived early on Saturday afternoon; and, after turning our weary horses loose, sat down on the ground at some distance from his hut, expecting a message of inquiry. At first it was said that he was in the fields tending his calves; but this proved to be a mistake, as he soon afterward made his appearance. Nevertheless he affected not to see us, and scarcely looked the way we were. After a while he seated himself on the threshold of his hut, apparently to enjoy the genial warmth of the sun. Considering the character which fame had given to this venerable chief, and which the barbarous acts of former days had probably justified, the attitude he now assumed strongly reminded us of an old lion peeping out of his den, and

rendered docile by age alone. Perceiving that he was not disposed to come to us, we advanced and saluted him, upon which he very good-humouredly shook hands, and requested us to sit down by his side. Just as we had commenced conversation, his servant brought up a quantity of boiled meat; which, after taking a portion himself, he shared among his guests. Although coarse fare, hunger rendered it very acceptable, and we therefore prepared to make a hearty meal, without either vegetables or bread. Miserable indeed would be the epicure, and wretched the fastidious man of fashion, in these dwellings of the barbarian.

We had not sat long before he requested to know what news we had brought, and what the design of our journey was. Upon which it was stated that our king and government were wishful to promote peace among all nations: that having obtained the governor's permission to visit him, we were desirous of establishing a mission in his territories; and had therefore come for the express purpose of ascertaining his mind upon the subject. "Your intentions," said he, "are very good, but my people are too bad to learn. What teacher will come to live among them?" Here he was told that one present was ready to come and instruct them in the things of God. "Where," exclaimed he, "does that man, God, live?" This is a question which the Kaffer frequently asks; and in a manner that at once evinces both his ignorance and skepticism.

The following day being Sabbath, we endeavoured to assemble the natives for divine service, but were not able until afternoon, inasmuch as the chief had called together his council, to confer upon the object of our visit. To them no distinction of days was known; Sunday and week-day were all the same. About 3 P. M. we were informed that they were all at liberty, and that the chief's dwelling was at our service. Its form was that of a beehive; and its dimensions about thirteen or fourteen feet every way. Herein we were surrounded by as many naked blacks as could possibly crowd in; and having neither light nor air, excepting what was admitted through the loop-hole door-way, our situation was far from being the most enviable. Chairs and stools are here out of the question, so that all were obliged to make the floor their seat. To us who were unaccustomed to it, this position was, of course, any thing but

comfortable; and, seeing a large pumpkin lying near nim, one of our company more corpulent than the rest gladly availed himself of the elevation which it afforded. This, however, was regarded as a great breach of good manners; and had wellnigh disturbed the decorum of the meeting: "For," exclaimed one, "we eat the *ipuzi*, and not sit upon it." It was not until Mr. —— had vacated his forbidden seat, and again taken an humbler station, that their consternation subsided. The service was commenced by singing a hymn in Kaffer; which exercise was novel to the whole of this swarthy group; some whispered, others laughed, and a third class endeavoured to join us in the best manner they were able.

At the conclusion of the sermon we availed ourselves of the opportunity, while the captains and council were present, to ask S'Lhambi whether he had come to any decision relative to our proposals. For some time he evaded the question, but afterward told us that he had done this merely to see what we should say; and then said, "The thing is determined: you can choose your own place; the land is before you." Here, however, he intimated a fear that we were only mocking him, and that as soon as we left we should forget all that had passed. Being positively assured of the contrary, he very significantly leaned forward upon his staff, and, with his eyes half-closed, expressed himself as follows:—"I see indeed strange things to-day.—I am old and unable to defend myself. The missionary is come to be my great captain. My eye shall he be, and my ear [medium of intelligence] also. To-day does it appear that I have friends. I have always been an earthworm; but I shall now creep out; we have hitherto been wolves and wild dogs in dark places hid, but to-day are we called men, and see the light. Never have we been safe; but the *Umfundis* shall be our bush."

When the old man had concluded his speech, to every sentence of which all listened in breathless silence, one of his chief counsellors arose, and harangued the company with more than ordinary eloquence. He congratulated the tribe of S'Lhambi on the day that now dawned upon its children; and concluded by earnestly calling upon the chief to make every arrangement for the protection of the missionary, so that no harm might befall either him or his family. "Your name," said he, "is great, but your character is bad, among the nations;

now is the time for redeeming it." This pointed address to the old ruler was received in perfect good-humour, and without a single remark.

For our accommodation was set apart a shattered hut, in which it was impossible to stand upright; and which every heavy blast threatened to carry completely away. Herein we slept, with our interpreters and guides, &c., on each side of us; nor were they all; for as the entrance was entirely open, there being no door, we sometimes found, on waking, that a company of half-starved dogs had quietly crept in, and taken lodgings in the midst of us. "That you may not perish of hunger near my dwelling," said the chief, "here is an old cow for you to eat." This, with the economy of civilized life, would, of course, have constituted ample provision for many days; but the moment the poor animal's doom was sealed a multitude of mouths, human, canine, and vulturine, seemed instinctively to open and prepare for devouring her. It not unfrequently happens that every bone is picked, and every edible morsel consumed, in the course of five or six hours after the beast is killed. Even while the slaughter is going on, each helper considers himself entitled to the privilege of cutting off "titbits;" which, while quivering with life, he throws upon the fire, and devours without much ceremony. When the whole has been eviscerated and dissected, all around expect a portion; and hosts of dogs, which accompany their owners to the feast, pick and steal on every side. It often, therefore, affords relief to hear that there is no more *inyama*, for as long as any remains hanging, it constitutes a source of perpetual annoyance.

Our next business was to see Dushani, S'Lhambi's eldest son; upon whom the government of the tribe was expected to devolve at the demise of the latter. To his place of residence, therefore, which was several hours' ride distant, we immediately repaired. Contrary to our expectation we found him at home, and prepared cheerfully to receive us. "But," said he, "I must have a little tobacco, so that I may smoke while we talk." The whole of our design and proceedings were then laid before him, and every one present listened with the profoundest attention.

We had every reason to believe that he was fully acquainted with all that had passed between us and his father; he nevertheless affected as much strangeness

to the whole affair as if he was only now hearing of it for the first time. Seldom does any thing new transpire in the land without the knowledge of the principal chiefs, as scores of persons are daily running about in every direction, for the purpose of bringing them information. They notwithstanding almost invariably feign total ignorance of all matters of moment, until brought before them officially. When informed of the nature of our errand, and of the results of our interview with his father, Dushani very laconically observed, "Yea, yea; it is all very good. I am glad to see you; but can say nothing until the word [message or intelligence] arrives from S'Lhambi." We were, therefore, obliged to submit to still further detention.

Early the following morning I was awakened by the vociferous shouts of one of the heralds, who was proclaiming, with stentorian voice, the praises of his chief, ascribing to him all the great deeds of the age, together with the majesty of the mightiest. The love of fame is a ruling passion, and the Caffrarian rulers are exceedingly fond of flattery; hence, we generally find numbers of this class of menials about them.

In the afternoon we strolled over the plain to a neighbouring hamlet, to see the *amaquati*, or circumcised. Circumcision is universally practised, both among the Amaxosa and Bootschuana tribes; and seems to be the only mark remaining of any thing like a religious institution. Barrow informs us that the time for performing this operation is generally about the age of eight or nine years; but I have never seen an instance wherein it has taken place under twelve or fourteen.

According to custom, we found the boys above alluded to placed without the pale of society, being accounted unclean. Temporary huts were erected for them, at some distance from the village, with whose inhabitants they were not allowed to hold any intercourse whatever. Here they employed themselves daily, in all kinds of warlike and gymnastic exercises. Sham fights were among their principal amusements; and in these, shields, with wooden spears, were used. An aged native was appointed as their tutor and attendant; upon whom custom peremptorily enjoined certain restrictions, regarding female intercourse, while he continued to sustain this office. A number of milch cows were set apart for their use exclusively; and being, during this their

term of novitiate, under little or no restraint, they frequently sallied forth into the neighbouring gardens, playing the most mischievous tricks.

They were all fine, active, and interesting lads; one of whom was Dushani's son. Their bodies, from head to foot, were daubed over with white clay; which gave them a singular and very unnatural appearance. On their heads they wore caps made of the palmeet leaf, and from their waists was suspended a kind of petticoat composed of the same material, and in length and shape not much unlike the Scotch kilt. Each seemed to vie with the other in agility and expertness, while the utmost harmony prevailed among the whole. Whatever may have been the origin of this rite among the aborigines of Southern Africa, it appears to be regarded at present in no other light than as a custom of their ancestors; and one by which the boy is initiated into a state of manhood.

At length, the young chief received the official despatch from his father, informing him of all that had been done, and of what was left for him to do. This was forthwith laid before his council, who at once advised him to attend to its instructions without delay; consequently, he and his brother determined on going with us to two or three places that had been recommended as eligible sites for the station. Having to pass several small villages on our way, we had repeated opportunities of observing the servile respect which the lower orders pay to their chiefs. A slavish dread evidently pervades their minds when one of these feudal lords is seen approaching; nor is this surprising, seeing that both person and property are in a great measure at his command. The use that is sometimes made of this power is iniquitous in the extreme; and should the subject dare to withhold even his wife, when demanded, he thereby places himself in the most perilous situation.

All of both sexes whom we met on the road loudly saluted our leader, crying, "*Wam Dushaan, wam Dushaan.*" To this piece of etiquette they are as rigidly attentive as our English soldiery are to obeisance before their respective officers; and the accidental neglect of it is not unfrequently visited by an unmerciful blow upon the head. At one hamlet where we halted for a few minutes, some old women were extremely anxious

to know the cause of the chief's movements; on perceiving which he very gravely began to play upon their fears, by asking where the cattle were that had been recently stolen from the colonists. This startled the poor old creatures, who were instantly led to suspect that ruin was at hand. And although they repeatedly assured him of their utter ignorance of any thing of the kind, he left them under the influence of apprehension, that the detection of thieves was the grand object of his journey.

A little before sunset, we reached the residence of an old native, whose solitary huts were erected on one of the heights near the Buffalo River. As we approached, it was evident that the chief was no welcome visiter, general usage requiring his host on such occasions to furnish both him and his retinue with provisions during their stay. It being a standing custom also for men of his rank not to drink milk belonging to their warriors, nothing less than the slaughter of a beast could suffice; and this the poor fellow could but ill spare, as his herd was exceedingly small.

The following morning brought with it the mortifying intelligence that part of our horses had strayed away, so that further detention was unavoidable. In prosecuting journeys of this kind, more than ordinary patience is requisite. The dilatoriness of the natives, whom circumstances oblige us to employ in one way or another, is sometimes annoying beyond measure. They know not how to appreciate the value of time; and hence are seldom in haste about any thing. While there is any thing to eat, they are in general altogether indifferent about proceeding, and by no means ignorant of stratagems whereby the traveller, however sagacious, is effectually detained until their point be gained. His impatience only tends to amuse them. Observing one whose irritated state of mind produced much nervous agitation, a Kaffer very sagely remarked, "The man is weak; his spears (words) are not steady; he throws them not like a man who fears them."

The weather being hazy and wet, we were all obliged to crowd together in an old filthy hovel, that was neither wind nor water-proof; and the perpetual stew of broiling meat rendered our situation still more disagreeable. This to them is the most delightful way of spending a rainy day—cooking, eating, and sleeping. When thus

impeded in our peregrinations, the day may be profitably spent in reading, conversing with the people, or in observations upon the surrounding objects; but to be cooped up in a Kaffer hut during a long winter's evening is miserable indeed. As soon as the sun disappears, a fire is kindled in the centre of the floor; in the roof there is no chimney nor aperture (unless, indeed, the building happens to be in a dilapidated state), whereby the smoke may escape; consequently a reeky cloud soon fills the room; to read is almost impossible, the fire not affording sufficient light, and lamps or candles are here unknown.

Being weary of waiting for the return of those who had gone in search of the horses, we saddled what we had, and rode to a cattle-farm still nearer to the Koonya. The change, however, was by no means for the better, as we had now no shelter whatever; but were obliged to spend the night, which was piercingly cold, under a hedge. Moreover, it soon appeared that, by leaving the place whence the horses had strayed, and before they were found, we had involved ourselves in still greater difficulties, having hereby acted contrary to Kaffer custom. On returning from the fields, our faithful servant Kotongo informed us that it was not improbable but they were stolen; and that had we remained where we were our host would have been bound to use every effort to regain them; but that leaving his house, we had relieved him from all further responsibility. Happily for us, they soon afterward came to hand, which relieved us of much anxious fear.

Early the following morning, we joined in prayer to Almighty God for divine direction, and were then conducted by the young chiefs to two or three places that had been pointed out by S'Lhambi. It may be necessary to observe, that without due caution in fixing upon suitable sites for our mission stations, much time and money also would, in all probability, be wasted. The selection of proper spots could not, with any degree of safety, be committed to the natives themselves; inasmuch as they are, of course, altogether incompetent to judge of the kind of situation that is requisite for the erection of houses, and the introduction of arts, so entirely different from their own. Hence, this business necessarily devolves upon the missionary, however foreign it may seem from his legitimate work, and however much

it may be opposed to his own wishes and feelings. Nothing can be more irksome than any the smallest attention to secular affairs; nevertheless, in the commencement of such missions, it is as unavoidable as it is unpleasant.

After riding about for some hours, taking different views, searching for water, and examining the soil, &c., in which our companions deemed us tiresomely ceremonious, we determined on taking our station on the southern bank of the Umkangeesa. In the judgment of a Kaffer, three things are requisite to constitute a farm valuable, viz. good water, plenty of grass, and a healthy situation for cattle. These, combined, rendered this a favourite spot with the old chief, who made it his principal grazing farm for some years before. The natives care not a straw whether the view be fine or otherwise, the scenery pleasant or unpleasant; such, however are objects which weigh with a European; and hence we pitched upon an elevated part of the land, whence the prospect is delightfully extensive, stretching over a beautifully picturesque landscape.

The rivulet, although comparatively small, formed the receptacle of numerous little streams, flowing from various fountains on both sides of the valley; and having a rocky channel, its waters seemed likely to be permanent. Many of the streamlets of South Africa are often either evaporated by the drought, or lost by absorption in sandy beds. When this happens in a town or village, the consequences are frequently of a serious nature; but to the Kaffer it makes comparatively little difference; for when grass or water fail in one place, he removes with his family and herds to another. There, in the course of a few days, he is quite at home, his huts being erected and his folds made. Until these are completed, he contentedly lodges in a thicket or among the rocks. One great object, however, of our missionary labours is, to turn his attention more fully to agricultural pursuits, and to attach him to the soil, that he may be made fully acquainted with all the useful arts of civilized life.

Two or three weeks afterward, S'Lhambi met us at Wesleyville, attended by thirty or forty elders and counsellors, who formed his train. The reverence evinced by all around in the presence of this celebrated ruler was not less astonishing than his heathenish depravity was lamentable. Notwithstanding his advanced age, lust, avarice, and lying were by far the most prominent

traits of his character. At every stage of his journey, which had occupied several days, his heart had been set either upon the wife or herd of his host. To him the way of truth was manifestly unknown; and he frequently made jest of the most palpable falsehoods!

A general assemblage took place early the following morning, formally to receive our report relative to the different places we had visited, to consider some objections that had been started by certain individuals against the site selected; and finally to determine the whole affair. The occasion, therefore, was one of more than ordinary interest; and although minutes or records be here unknown things, the publicity of its proceedings, and the presence of S'Lhambi, gave to every decision all possible weight and validity. I am not aware of any other instance wherein an equal number of chieftains, belonging to different clans, have been unanimously convened for the professed purpose of conferring upon subjects of such great and general importance; and as several, who were engaged in the momentous concerns of that day, are now no more, the same assemblage can never take place again.

All being seated in order, the circumstances and results of our first visit were recapitulated; and the cause of a second journey (taken subsequently, in consequence of the objections above alluded to), together with our views of different parts of the land, stated. To all this S'Lhambi attentively listened without uttering a word; but upon our mentioning Koogwala, a beautiful little valley, through which we rode the preceding day, he vehemently exclaimed, "There will I never set foot again as long as I live." On inquiry, it appeared that that was the place whence he and his people were forcibly driven by our troops at the time they were sent out to assist Gaika against him; so that we unluckily hit upon a point which revived in his mind the most painful recollections. The objections to Umkangeesa were then demanded; and no sooner stated than overruled; nor did a single individual apparently dare to mention them a second time after the mind of their old legislator had been expressed. All listened to him with silent awe, and nodded assent to his enactments. "There, then," said he, "shall the great house of S'Lhambi's tribe be built; and there also shall be the dwelling of the *Umfundis*."

Thus did we at once obtain firm footing among his people, and an open door into the regions beyond; Hinza himself having already declared, that when S'Lhambi had received missionaries, and was able to give him information as to what kind of beings they were, he would receive one also. It is not, however, at all improbable but he, like many of the colonists, at that period, regarded his notorious old neighbour as the very last of the Kaffer chiefs who would suffer the establishment of Christianity within his dominions. Many, indeed, of his white opponents deemed both him and his subjects far more proper objects for destruction than for salvation. But "my thoughts are not as your thoughts; neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord of hosts."

October 12th.—Their palavers being ended, I proceeded to commence the mission, accompanied by Mr. T., an artisan, whom we had engaged to take charge of the building and other secular concerns. This being, in all probability, the first time the impress of a wagon-wheel was ever made upon our path, we had frequent occasion to use both hatchets and pickaxes. These implements, together with the spade, are almost indispensable accompaniments of a South African wagon in the interior. The general surface of the country around us was much broken, which rendered it necessary to travel upon the summits of the different ridges. The view on each side embraced numerous small villages, whence the natives came out to meet us with corn and milk for sale. All greeted our party in the most friendly manner, and expressed their joy that the place of our habitation was finally determined.

A little before sunset, we reached our destination in safety; the neighbouring peak and highlands render it a distinguished point. To the southward the country falls off rapidly, as far as the Keiskamma; and on the northern side, the Koonya's beautiful stream meanders along, within little more than three miles. There being neither house nor inhabitant to receive us, we took our stand beneath the spreading branches of a large thorn, which nature might seem to have designed as a screen from the sun. The news of our arrival speedily flew from horde to horde, and crowds of natives were gathered around us at an early hour the following morning.

Their deportment was indeed friendly, and their professions of the most flattering description; but circumstances soon convinced us that they would consider it no evil to "pick and steal" whenever opportunity enabled them to do so. This, of course, is not matter of surprise, with the fact in view that every one is trained to such tricks from earliest infancy. It became expedient, therefore, to station a person as guard over such articles as were lying loose and exposed about the tent, which office one of the visiters gladly undertook, and very faithfully sustained, for the sake of a few beads. Although, as we have already observed, the Kaffer is by no means scrupulous about running away with his neighbour's property when left in a tempting situation, I never knew a single instance of his betraying his trust in any thing that was fairly and fully committed to his charge. Do this, and the utmost confidence may in general be placed in him.

When practicable and convenient, it is desirable that the missionary should dwell somewhere near the chief; since his presence might operate as a check upon marauders; and his protection would, in that case, be much more efficient. When he is at a distance, some time must necessarily elapse after the commission of a depredation, before any formal attempt be made to convict the offender; this of course, affords the latter opportunities both for concealment and escape; and the case soon assumes a complex character. Some will probably ask, "Why then do you not make it a rule to settle in the chief's hamlet?" Because, as in the present instance, it often happens that he is not agreeable to it. He is willing for us to dwell in his land, but not to have his daily vices placed under our eye; he has no objections to our occupying a portion of his territory, but he has every objection to our witnessing his heathenish practices Here, as elsewhere, "men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil;" and in none is this more strikingly evident than in Caffrarian rulers. Besides, such situations are seldom the most populous. It rarely happens that a chieftain of the first rank has many people living very near him. In this respect, their custom differs altogether from that of the more northern tribes, who form themselves into towns, with the chiefs in the midst of them. A numerous congregation may sometimes, indeed, be seen at

the chieftain's residence; that being, as it is emphatically styled, the *Umzi Umculu* (Great Place), to which the different divisions of the tribe occasionally repair. The dissipated example, however, of the Inkos frequently operates as a powerful incentive to evil in those around him; and the lower orders often fear to indulge the influence of better principles when under his eye.

On examination, we found that the capabilities of the station far exceeded our first estimate of them. The supply of water was considerably better, and the extent of arable land much greater, than we had anticipated. The dense forests of reed along the banks of the river below swarmed with birds of different descriptions; among which were some of singular species. Of the *loxia orix* there were not a few; the male of which, according to an eminent writer, "is remarkable for its grand plumage during the spring and summer months. In these seasons the neck, breast, back, upper and under part of the rump, are of a bright crimson; the throat and abdomen are glossy black. During the other six months it is stripped of its gaudy attire, and adopts the modest garb of the female; which is at all times that of a grayish brown. They are gregarious, and build their nests in large societies. A few of the long-tailed finches also, described in the *Systema Naturæ*, as the *loxia Caffra*, and in the same work as *emberiza longicauda*, were here seen flying about among the flags. The changes which this remarkable class of the feathered tribe undergo are still more extraordinary than those of the *loxia orix:* "The black feathers of the tail, which are fifteen inches long, while the body is barely five, are placed in vertical positions, like those of the domestic cock. The bounty of nature seems to have been extended to this bird to its disadvantage,—its tail, when on the wing, impeding instead of assisting its flight. This long tail, however, only continues during a certain part of the year; in the winter it assumes the same as that of the female, short, brown, and horizontal; and it can then fly like other birds. The change of plumage in many birds, from that of the male to the female, and the contrary, has led some speculative naturalists to adopt an opinion that a change of sex also actually takes place. This, however, is not the case with respect to the two birds in question. The latter appears to be one of those few of the feathered tribe

that, in a state of nature, are found to be polygamous. I have frequently seen from thirty to forty of their nests together; but never more than two males at one place. The construction of their nests is very curious: they are entirely composed of green grass, neatly plaited into a round ball, and knotted fast between the stems of two reeds. The entrance is through a tube, whose orifice is on the under side next to the water."* This might seem as if designed to secure themselves and their young from the attack of the water-snake, which frequently insinuates itself into nests of other descriptions.

The rains set in almost immediately after our arrival at Mount Coke; and, with little or no intermission, continued for several days; hence, our sylvan retreat became most disadvantageous, rendering the tent in a great measure useless. To keep ourselves dry either by night or by day was almost impossible; so that our situation was any thing but comfortable; and severe colds were the unavoidable consequence. During the whole of the first week we were unable to do any thing of importance, either within or without; and the first Sabbath was most dreary, wet, and cold. As soon as the weather cleared up, however, the natives flocked around us from all sides, offering their services in any way we deemed most proper. The erection of a wattled cottage having been determined upon, the men were furnished with hatchets, and sent off to the neighbouring forest, and the women with sickles, to cut down reeds for thatch. The herds always claiming their first attention, they seldom arrived from their respective hamlets early in the morning; nor did they ever remain with us after sunset in the evening. For some time, therefore, I made a point of preaching every day at noon, when crowds were generally assembled around us. Our houseless situation, of course, obliged me to address them under the shade of a large tree, around which the sable groups all squatted in circles on the ground. The attention paid was sometimes highly encouraging; and at other times their conduct was vexatious in the extreme. The disposition of the Kaffer being naturally volatile, every trifling object and occurrence tend to divert him.

* Barrow.

Many weeks had not elapsed after the establishment of the station before the colonial government decided on opening an occasional market in the neutral territory, within about half a day's journey of us. This excited considerable interest among all the clans along the coast, as all commercial intercourse with the tribes had hitherto been confined to Fort Wiltshire, to which place they could not take their produce without falling into the hands of Gaika, who levied upon them an intolerably heavy tax, in consideration of the fairs being held in the borders of his domain. No sooner was a bargain struck, than he or his agents unceremoniously seized the choicest part of the proceeds; and as the *quantum sufficit* was usually determined by the caprice of the chief, or by the lawless cupidity of those whom he employed, the poor trader had frequently to return home with little or nothing for his journey.

Sunday, Nov. 18th.—Ere day began to dawn, we were aroused from our slumbers by rumours of war, and the utmost confusion prevailed during the greater part of the day. A company of soldiers having been sent against Chusoo's clan, a predatory band that infested the neighbouring mountains, the report of their guns led all the surrounding hordes to expect a visit, as no one seemed to know against whom vengeance was determined. In their alarm, therefore, every one fled to the station, concluding that no attack would be made upon them there, until some opportunity, at least, had been afforded for inquiry. In the course of a few hours the bushy banks of the Koonya were completely thronged both with men and cattle. The solemnity of the Sabbath was consequently greatly disturbed; nevertheless, unpleasant as were these circumstances, they furnished us with an excellent opportunity for enforcing a highly important lesson. Some of the chief captains were extremely solicitous to know whether we should use our influence in endeavouring to protect them from danger, in case the troops came to Mount Coke; to this we of course replied in the affirmative, until guilt should be proved against them; but that the mission premises must on no account whatever be regarded as a refuge for thieves: upon which they seemed greatly relieved, and frankly acknowledged the propriety of our determination. The barbarously indiscriminate manner in which military expeditions have sometimes rushed upon

the tribes, spreading desolation and death on account of robberies committed by individuals unknown, has naturally rendered the very sound of such expeditions dreadful throughout the land.

On all occasions of this kind the poor women are perfect slaves. It was with an aching heart that I witnessed many aged females passing by, in the course of the day, having both heads and hands so heavily laden with hides, calabashes, and cooking utensils, &c., as to be scarcely able to move along. Thus circumstanced, great numbers doubtless fall into the hands of the enemy in times of war; for their husbands afford them no assistance or protection whatever. The preservation of the cattle constitutes the grand object of their solicitude; and with these, which are trained for the purpose, they run at an astonishing rate, leaving both wives and children to take their chance.

The ease with which the Kaffer lays aside his anxieties and care is truly remarkable. When the fatigues and toils of the day are brought to an end, he collects his herd, kindles a little fire, creeps under the spreading boughs of a bush, and there contentedly wraps himself up in his mantle. Amid the most troublous times, if imminent danger be not absolutely at hand, he cheerfully spends his evening in turning the adventures of the day into tales of the most jocular description, and then lies down to sleep as composedly as if guarded by a thousand men.

CHAPTER IV.

Dushani's visit to Albany—The attack upon Graham's Town—Escape of an old native—Fury of an elephant—Extent of Kaffer territory—Buffalo Mountains—Superstitious fear—Character of the soil—Numerous springs—Ravages of locusts—Bushman's cave—Chief's sporting grounds—Kaffer hospitality—A banditti.

The year 1826 was commenced by our young chief in a manner that fully proved the sincerity of his desire for peace with the colony. A native belonging to one of the neighbouring clans, having brought into his territories a number of stolen horses for sale, was arrested,

and compelled to give them up. On the second of January he came to inform me that he had succeeded in getting possession of them, and that he was determined to forward them to the colonial authorities, to be restored to their respective owners. The appearance of such a principle could not but be hailed with pleasure, although the numerous questions to which such subjects sometimes give rise constitute no small portion of our perplexities. The time appointed for our district-meeting being at hand, I proposed his accompanying me to Graham's Town, where he might himself deliver the stolen animals in the proper quarter, and thereby obtain an introduction to those in power. To this he gladly acceded, and went at the time appointed, attended only by two of his counsellors, his younger brother, and a couple of servants.

The day after their arrival, they were introduced to Lieutenant-colonel Somerset, the commandant, who kindly ordered all necessary attention to be paid to their wishes and wants during their stay. The day following, being Sabbath, they attended divine service in our chapel, and conducted themselves with marked propriety. The appearance of the congregation, the order of the service, and the solemnity of the occasion evidently impressed them much, as they had never before witnessed any thing of the kind. After minutely examining almost every corner of the place, Dushani, with manifest astonishment, exclaimed, "And is it possible to build such a house for God in our land?" After spending about a week in town, they became anxious respecting home; and as I was not ready to return, the commandant furnished them with a military escort, lest any harm should befall them on the way. During their stay, they were treated with unexpected kindness by the British colonists generally; received numerous presents, and returned highly satisfied with their visit.

The appearance of this chief in Albany revived the recollection of an event which it may not be uninteresting here to notice. The last combined attack of the Kaffers upon the colony, made when Graham's Town was a mere garrison, and but a few months prior to the arrival of the emigrants, was commanded by this very man. Colonel W., the principal officer on the station, on hearing that the natives were approaching, sent out detachments to reconnoitre; and these, upon coming

within sight of the sable army, immediately galloped back to the camp with all speed. Perceiving this, the Kaffers were unhappily led to conclude that the small and scattered party before them constituted the whole force of the enemy, whose precipitate retreat induced the supposition that they were leaving the field in despair. Under this impression they made a rapid advance, which was unsuspectingly continued until close to the very mouths of the cannon. These had been drawn out and planted not far from where our mission-house and chapel now stand. At the very moment, therefore, when the poor creatures were dreaming of certain victory, sudden destruction came upon them. A dreadful firing was opened; and great numbers literally blown to atoms, while others escaped, not without serious wounds and broken limbs, which in many instances proved fatal afterward.

One old man, who had the care of our draught oxen, received two or three musket-balls in different parts of his body; one of these penetrated his left breast, and came out above the shoulder-blade; so that it actually passed directly through him. When pointing out the spot on which he stood at the time he was shot, he further stated that he lay among the dead for several hours; during which period, a party of soldiers passed by, examining the bodies, and putting to death all in whom symptoms of life appeared. At length, however, covered by the shades of evening, he managed to creep away on his hands and knees, staying the effusion of blood by stuffing his wounds with grass and herbage, as he went along; using at the same time, a certain diarrhœtic, consisting of herbs and the leaves of shrubs. In this condition he travelled, by short stages, nearly fifty miles; and in the course of a few months was in a great measure restored to health again. He carried with him, however, the effects of that adventure to the day of his death, as he never acquired perfect soundness; and the wounds left large cicatrices, showing the entré and egress of the ball. On questioning him respecting the cause of so remarkable a deliverance, he very frankly ascribed it to that Almighty Power with which he was but little acquainted, and of which, at the period alluded to, he knew nothing at all.

The recollection of that day and its scenes made them tremble while approaching the spot, and especially when

within sight of the town. The number, size, and arrangement of the houses viewed from the neighbour-

NATIVES ESCORTING THE REV. STEPHEN KAY, AND FAMILY, ACROSS THE GARIEP OR ORANGE RIVER.

deed. A dense forest, extending many miles every way, encompassed us about; and the stunning din of a sweeping torrent was perpetually upon our ears. No sooner had the shades of night fallen than the hideous scream of elephants, the doleful howl of wolves, and the dissonant screech of owls were heard on every side. In the course of the evening a prodigiously large elephant passed within a few paces of our encampment; and a herd of these terrific creatures came down to drink on the opposite bank the night before. The wagon of Mr. ——, a naturalist, who had occasion, some months previously, to spend the night near the spot where we were obliged to tarry, was violently attacked by one of these sagacious brutes, which actually pushed its tusk through the side, and into some chests that were within. Some have supposed that the animal was irritated by a smell arising from the bones of one of its own species; the entire skeleton and skin of which that gentleman was taking with him to the colony.

Two Kaffers, who were excellent swimmers, having come to our assistance, and the waters having greatly abated, we put our oxen to the yoke about sunrise on Wednesday the 15th (February), resolving, if possible, to gain the opposite bank. About ten days previously an English soldier was lost at the ford in a similar adventure; and a few days subsequently one of the traders' wagons was completely swept away, notwithstanding every effort to save it. By the good providence of God, however, although one of our vehicles was in considerable danger, while passing, we all at length got safely through without any loss whatever. The accompanying view, taken while our little mission party were crossing the Great Orange River, in 1821, may serve to give the reader some idea both of the difficulty and danger to which the African missionary is sometimes unavoidably subjected, in the prosecution of his arduous work.

Being now settled in the native territory, the state, capabilities, and habits of the people around us became, of course, subjects of interesting and diligent research. The country occupied by the Amakosæ, and generally known by the name of Kafferland, is a comparatively narrow strip, extending from the colonial boundary to the Bashee, or St. John's River. On the south side it is bounded by the sea, and on the north by a high ridge of mountains, which is said to extend into the vicinage of

Delagoa Bay, and which, westward, forms a part of the Winter Berg, Bush Berg, and Bruintjes Hoogte chain.

This range, which, in the course of my missionary peregrinations, I had occasion to cross, shortly after our arrival at Mount Coke, is but an easy day's ride from the station. Its height from the level of the sea is considerable; and its summit, in the winter season, is frequently covered with snow for months together.

Along the base there are, here and there, fine savannas, beautifully intersected with small clumps of trees, and carpeted with a rich variety of herbaceous plants. An excellent streamlet meanders among the shrubbery in the centre of the valleys, and gives life to the whole landscape. Having reached the foot of the principal ascent, we alighted, and began to climb on foot, but the heat of the day rendered our walk any thing but pleasant. On one part of the declivity the path led through a dense forest of yellow-wood trees (the principal timber of the colony), some of which were the largest I ever saw.

The upper part of the mountain presented to the eye immense precipices, capped with large rhomboidal tablets and projecting angles, forming a kind of cornice to the face. On the sides of the declivities there was a description of prismatic quartz crystals, in a corroded state, and evidently undergoing the process of decomposition. Indeed the change of quartz into clay, as has been justly remarked by different travellers, is perceptible in almost all the mountains of Southern Africa. Iron-stone was everywhere observable; and likewise considerable quantities of ochre, of different kinds; some few specimens I met with in the state of impalpable powder, enclosed in crustaceous coverings of a reddish colour, of the hardness and consistence of baked earthenware, sometimes in single nodules of an inch or two inches in diameter, but more frequently in clusters of two, three, or four nodules connected by necks, which are also hollow. In these stones every shade of colour is said to have been found except the greens; but the most common are those of a pale yellow and chocolate brown.

On gaining the summit, fine grassy plains stretched before us; and, contrary to expectation, we found thickly-inhabited hamlets in every direction. Upon inquiry it appeared that this was made the summer residence

and grazing place of those clans that live along the base of the mountain. The pasturage was particularly good, and very abundant. The climate also seemed to be remarkably fine; and the general aspect of the country, the trees, and the shrubbery strikingly resembled those in many parts of England. Numerous rills, of beautiful limpid water, rippled in various directions, and within short distances of each other. Some of the streams poured forth from projecting rocks, which rendered them capable of being led out over hundreds of acres. Most of them ran over rocky beds; and the soil, although perhaps not very deep, was evidently such as might be made abundantly productive.

The sharp and salubrious air that we here breathed rendered us all exceedingly hungry; and, after travelling some miles upon the heights, we fell in with a native who had just been taking a bees' nest. For a part of his spoil a price was offered, which he immediately accepted; and we made a meal of "wild honey." The sweetness of our repast, however, excited intense thirst, and made all glad to alight at the first brook we came to. Here an accident occurred which, at the moment, was somewhat alarming; and which, from the superstitious view that the party took of it, seemed likely to produce very serious results. My guide, who had not been much accustomed to riding on horseback, when getting off, fell to the ground, under the animal's belly; and the horse immediately raising his foot, trod upon and wounded him severely in a tender part. For some minutes his agony was extreme; and the blood flowed so copiously as to induce serious apprehensions in my own mind. He at length, however, recovered a little; and, the parts being bound up with certain leaves, the effusion was stayed until we arrived at one of the native huts, when a kind of embrocation was prescribed, and used with considerable effect. I could not but observe one thing, which constituted an additional proof of the dreadful degree in which their minds are influenced by superstitious fear. Notwithstanding the excruciating pain under which the poor fellow was suffering, he would not move an inch from the spot until he had cleansed every stone, and erased from the ground all marks of blood. On my asking why he did this, I was informed that it was to prevent any one using his blood as a weapon against him!

This unpleasant (and, in the opinion of our fellow-travellers, inauspicious) circumstance proved a considerable hinderance, and obliged us to halt at the nearest hamlet. The evening set in exceedingly cold; and the bleak winds to which our elevated situation exposed us rendered shelter not a little desirable. Some time, however, elapsed before we could prevail upon any one to accommodate us with a hut; but having at length succeeded in obtaining one, the people were assembled for divine worship. To this sacred duty they were utter strangers, as appeared both from their words and actions. O how difficult it is to address those who have literally no more knowledge of divine things than the very beasts that perish! who are altogether "earthly, sensual, and devilish;" who have no conception whatever of the character, attributes, or perfections of Jehovah,—of heaven or of hell,—of their state and danger as sinners, or of their absolute need of a Saviour! Well might the great apostle of the gentiles exclaim, "Who is sufficient for these things?"

The wretched hovel in which we were pent up during the night, being not only filthy but very small, rendered the cheering light of day not a little acceptable. My guide now determined on returning by short and easy stages; a measure which I had before strongly advised, but to which he would not then listen. Perceiving that we were not yet on the highest part of the mountain, but that there was a second range some miles farther on, we resolved on proceeding. Hence, after procuring other guides, and breakfasting on a little fresh milk, the only kind of food obtainable, our horses were saddled, and we continued our journey. The richness of this unexplored district perfectly astonished us, as it far exceeded any thing we had expected to see; and the mountaineers were not a little curious to know the object of our visit. Some of them seemed to regard our movements with considerable suspicion; which was not at all surprising, if what they stated was correct, viz. that we were the first white men whom they had ever seen traversing those highlands.

A superincumbent stratum of trapstone constituted one of the distinguishing features of the country; huge and detached masses of this were in many places standing several feet above the surface. These, like many others which had but just sunk to the level of the earth,

exhibited every symptom of progressive decomposition; and on their exterior had numerous deep and perpendicular fissures of various dimensions. In some places there were vast eminences consisting entirely of this description of rock, around the basis of which the soil appeared to be amazingly rich, producing a great variety of young trees, shrubs, and frutescent plants, that were growing in the greatest luxuriance. On this account the Kaffer females had in many instances selected these spots for their gardens, which were abundantly productive.

The numerous springs and fine streams of water found on these mountains, together with the rains that are frequently seen descending upon them, even when the lowlands are completely parched, fully accounts for the superiority of the rivers on this part of the coast. When we arrived at the foot of the second ridge, much more abrupt in its ascent, and far more naked in its general aspect than the first, we crossed another strong stream rushing from the rocks amid umbrageous woods that grew on each side of it. Its sound was heard some time before it appeared in sight. A more delightful site for a mission village could scarcely be found than the place where it issues forth, and where large fields might be laid completely under water if necessary. In its immediate vicinage, there is timber of various descriptions sufficient for all the purposes of a large town; and the scenery is highly picturesque, as well as romantic. But although a most desirable situation, the coldness of the climate in the winter season is a formidable obstacle, in the view of the natives, to its ever being made a place of permanent residence. And this objection will, in all probability, continue until the increase of population renders it absolutely necessary to occupy and cultivate all those extensive plains and glens which at present lie entirely waste in different parts of Caffraria.

Having reached the highest point of this division of the chain, all the different districts of the clans were pointed out down to the seacoast, which may be here distinctly seen when the horizon is sufficiently clear. We then commenced our descent on the opposite side, where the prospect was as forbidding as the one from which we had just turned was pleasing. It is almost impossible to give a correct idea of the difference be-

tween the country northward and that to the southward, although divided only by a narrow ridge, scarcely one-fourth of a mile across. Nothing but barren vales and naked hills, with here and there a range of precipices or shelving rocks, were now before us. At the bottom of the mountain stood a solitary hut or two, where we procured a bowl of sour milk, the only refreshment we could get.

The poor Bushmen formerly occupied the tract upon which we now entered, but which had long been entirely destitute of inhabitants. "Waste howling wilderness" was the most appropriate appellation I could find for it, and at once constituted the very best description. The lion and panther have uncontrolled domain; and while these have for years been feeding upon the different kinds of antelope and other game, it is but too evident that the human species also have been awfully wasted by the ferocity of such creatures, and by the barbarity of unenlightened men. A deadly hatred appears to have subsisted between the Kaffers and the tribes above mentioned; and while dwelling so near each other, the latter availed themselves of every opportunity for committing depredations upon their more sable neighbours; who, in retaliating, were seldom satisfied with a bare recapture, but generally destroyed every Bushman, woman and child that fell in their way. Thus were these poor creatures often driven either into the interior, where their enemies were equally numerous—or upon the colonial frontier, where the boors were at that period equally cruel towards them. Hence it is scarcely possible to conceive of a situation more wretched, or of circumstances more deplorable, than those in which these wandering outcasts have ever been placed.

Having heard various reports of an immense reptile, which is said to have been frequently seen in the mountains we had just crossed, and which, according to the description given by the natives of its size, form, and habits, &c., would seem to be something of the *anaconda* or boa-constrictor species, I was induced to make it the subject of particular inquiry, in order, if possible, to ascertain whether or not that formidable snake be indigenous to this part. The Kaffers informed us that a drawing of it was to be seen in one of the caves formerly occupied by the Bushmen; we therefore deter-

mined on extending our journey, in the hope of obtaining, at least, this piece of collateral evidence upon the subject.

The view around was any thing but pleasing; for, besides the general aridity of the soil, there were evident traces of immense swarms of locusts, with which the whole country appeared to have been covered only a short time before. These devourers had left but a very scanty portion of grass for the beasts of the field. There were, nevertheless, large herds of gnoes, gazelles, and other graminivorous animals grazing on each side of us. How they all obtained food is extremely difficult to conceive: neither tree nor bush was to be seen in any direction. On arriving at the spot that constituted the object of our curiosity, we were greatly disappointed; for, although there were indeed a number of rude sketches drawn on the face of the rock, the one I was more especially anxious about was not to be found. The cave, denominated by the natives Daleewa, is but a kind of overhanging rock on the bank of a small rivulet that runs hard by. On the smooth sides of this recess, the troglodyte inhabitants had amused themselves by drawing several different animals; some of which were surprisingly well done; and the whole such as to enable the beholder instantly to recognise the original. There was a number of strange delineations of the human figure also; from whence it was quite evident that the untutored artist had had the Dutch boor principally in his eye. Two or three of them, however, almost induced us to conclude that he was not altogether ignorant of the shape of some of our military dandies. The materials with which they had been executed consisted of various kinds of ochre, charcoal, and white clay. The upper part of the cavern was covered with a thin coating of dark pitchy matter, which I at first took to be merely the effect of smoke; but was subsequently told that it was the *klip-gift*, or rock poison, with which the Bushman almost always envenoms the points of his darts; and which is found in his subterraneous retreats. In one corner, near the entrance, a quantity of *dagga*, or wild hemp, was growing: of this noxious plant, the people in question are extravagantly fond, as are many of the Hottentots also, on account of its narcotic quality.

We were here close to the base of a third chain of

hills, behind which runs one of the largest rivers of Caffraria, commonly called "the Kae." It constitutes the boundary between the colony and the Amatembu territory; and, after winding round the back part of Winter Berg, it takes an easterly course, and finally disembogues its enlarged stream into the Indian Ocean, a few miles below the dwelling-place of Hinza. Its banks, at a short distance from where we halted, had recently been occupied by several bands of wandering exiles, driven from their homes by the Fitcani. This invading force had repeatedly attacked the Tambookie tribes likewise, and done considerable mischief. There being no place of shelter nearer than that at which we had rested for a short time in the morning, we determined on returning thither to spend the night.

The uninhabited tract over which we had been travelling formed the sporting-grounds of the principal chiefs in the neighbourhood, whither they occasionally resort with large parties of their men to spend a few days in hunting. Although we rode hard, night overtook us long before we reached the society of men; and just as it began to be dark, our native associates became greatly alarmed by the discovery of a prodigious animal three or four hundred paces ahead of us. All were unanimously of opinion that it was a lion; but how far they were correct is difficult to say, as the twilight only just enabled me to perceive some kind of large beast moving backwards and forwards on the rising ground, which placed it between us and the horizon. However, whatever it might be, every one was glad to see him move off and leave the path clear as we approached, although this was done in a very tardy and deliberate manner, as if measuring each step he took.

By the time we arrived at the foot of the mountain, the moon had risen, and her brilliancy speedily dispersed the cheerless gloom of the desert, which night renders tenfold. The Kaffer family were preparing for their evening's repast, of which they kindly allowed us to partake. This consisted simply of two or three baskets of acidulated milk, with which the fresh supply just brought from the cow was previously mixed. After supper we endeavoured to call their attention to the consideration of spiritual things, in as easy and familiar a manner as possible. All were attentive; but none appeared to take any heartfelt interest in the word

spoken. Our host, having only lately come to the place, was but ill prepared to accommodate us with lodgings. Hence, on asking for a hut to sleep in, I was informed that one was all he had; but that, if we thought proper, we were at liberty to occupy a small half-built shed among the shrubbery hard by, which was appropriated to the use of his servants. This consisted merely of a few live twigs bent at the tops, and interwoven so as to form a frame, which was loosely covered with long grass and branches. It was by no means the most pleasant or desirable situation to lie down in, as the high weeds and thick underwood that surrounded it were evidently a nest for serpents and other vermin. As usual, however, we committed ourselves into the hands of Him whose all-seing eye neither slumbers nor sleeps, and whose gracious providence is all-sufficient to protect those that put their trust in him.

At an early hour the following morning, we again crossed the mountain; and the weather still continuing fine, our ride was as delightful as it had been dreary the preceding day. A beast having been slaughtered at one of the villages, we found the mountaineers assembled in great numbers, and festively helping their neighbour to eat his beef. Seeing the smoke rising while yet at a considerable distance, and being pretty well aware of the cause, our hungry fellow-travellers were all anxiety to get to the spot. Plain animal food, either broiled or boiled (the usual and only modes of cooking), without any admixture,—salt, seasoning, or vegetable,—is the greatest luxury the Kaffer desires; and whenever any one kills a cow or an ox, it is an invariable custom throughout the country for all around to flock to the feast, as a matter of course. The members of his own family seldom obtain a larger portion than the uninvited stranger, who is generally allowed to partake as long as any bone remains unpicked.

The treatment we met with from the natives on this journey was, upon the whole, far better than we had anticipated, as the clans living along the base of the mountain are celebrated thieves and robbers; from whom the more peaceable tribes are continually suffering. On descending from the heights, we fell in with one or two companies of them; and fiercer-looking fellows I never saw. Their savage air and extraordinarily rude manners were quite sufficient to unnerve the

mind of a stranger. They were evidently capable of deeds the most horrid; so that we were glad to present them with any thing they asked, to keep them in good-humour: by this means we got past them without much molestation. The habitations of this banditti are, in most cases, so completely immured in the woods and ravines, that it would be extremely difficult to find many of them, and not a little dangerous to approach them by surprise.

As there is from hence a gradual descent, all the rivers and small streamlets fall off to the sea direct; excepting in places where their course is rendered circuitous by the undulatory form of the general surface, and by narrow necks of land with which the whole country is intersected. In some parts the ground is rent and torn into vast chasms, which are frequently separated by high ridges of rugged and massive rock. This is more particularly the case along the banks and near the mouths of principal rivers, where the deep ravines are choked up with thick bush and coppice-wood. These wild and dismal recesses are all nurseries for the elephant and rhinoceros. Herds of the former are often seen making prodigious havoc in those umbrageous retreats, when at all disturbed by intruders, or by any attempt of the huntsman to drive them out.

Between the larger rivers there are fine plains and valleys, watered by numerous little rills and streamlets, which might be turned to great advantage if properly husbanded, but which are at present suffered in a great measure to run to waste. The natives, having no idea of irrigation, and being averse to the little trouble it requires, make no other use of them than that of relieving the pressing calls of nature when thirsty; so that they scarcely know how to appreciate the abundance of water at their command.

The thorn, or *mimosa*, is seen growing both on the tops of the hills and in the bottoms of the valleys; but it is most plentifully scattered about in the latter, where it thrives luxuriantly. The courses of the streamlets may generally be traced, even at a distance, by the sombre foliage of the different trees that grow along their banks: among these the tall *umkoba*, or yellow-wood tree, appears most conspicuous; and is both useful and ornamental. This sometimes stands singly, and, when unencumbered by the pendulous lichen, or

woodbine, which seems to cramp its growth in the forests, it becomes very lofty. It does not appear to thrive in a dry situation; but along the sides of watercourses considerable numbers of this species are frequently seen growing within the space of a few hundred yards. In the ravines we often meet with a *euphorbia*, which throws out a number of naked arms from a straight trunk, thirty or forty feet high: of this the natives make no use whatever. On the slightest incision being made in the bark, a strong juice instantly exudes, which in consistence and appearance very much resembles milk. It is exceedingly pungent, and, if dropped upon a wound or into the eye, occasions extreme agony. But, as remarked by Barrow, one of the largest and most showy trees in the country is the *erythrina corallodendrum*, so called from the colour and resemblance of its large clusters of papilionaceous flowers to branches of red coral. Numbers of beautiful birds, such as small paroquets, touracos, woodpeckers, and many others, flutter about these trees when in bloom, which is about September or October, for the sake of the sweet juices that are generated in the flowers. Nevertheless, the coral-tree, like many other dazzling beauties, has its imperfections. The leaves are deciduous; and the blossoms, like those of the almond, decay before the young leaves have burst their buds. This is not the case with what is termed the Hottentot's bean-tree. The clusters of scarlet flowers, intermingled with the small and elegant dark green foliage, give it a remarkable pre-eminence over the tall trees of the ravines, and the thick shrubbery on the sides of the swells. This is the African *lignum-vitæ*, the *Guajacum Africum* of Linnæus, and the *Scotia Speciosa* of the Hortus Kewensis. The wood, however, is not sufficiently hard to be converted to the same purpose as *lignum-vitæ;* nor is the tree large enough to make it of any particular use.

The greatest and richest variety of shrubs are found within a few miles of the sea, where also I have most frequently met with the coral-tree. The natives frequently use its branches for fencing; and being easily propagated, and of rapid growth, the naked and hewed pole soon takes root, and forms a living hedge; which, when full-grown and in blossom, might seem to vie in beauty with the richest flowers of the field. Of these also there is a vast variety. The *Strelitzia reginæ* is

sometimes found thickly scattered over large patches of ground; and several species of *xeranthemum* and *gnaphalium* decorate the grassy plains with their brilliant colours of red, yellow, and silky white.

CHAPTER V.

Probable origin of the Kaffers—First settlement on the Kae River—Figure—General Character—Erroneous views of travellers—Apparel—Female dress and manners—Little visible distinction—Change and innovations—Ornaments—Houses—Hamlets—Wealth—Bullion of the country—Diet—Superstitious fears of the guide—Vile conduct of individuals—Native scruples concerning swine's flesh and fish—Filthy customs.

Little or no information respecting the origin of these tribes can be obtained from the Kaffer himself, as he possesses no vestige of a record, nor indeed much traditionary knowledge that is at all satisfactory. Some are decidedly of opinion that they are not the aborigines of the southern angle of Africa. "Surrounded on all sides," says Barrow, "by a people that differ from them in every point, in colour, in features, in form, in disposition, manners, and language, it would be absurd to consider them indigenous to the small spot they now possess. Were I to speculate upon their origin, I would have little hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that they are descended from some of the tribes of those wandering Arabs known by the name of Bedouins. These people are known to have penetrated into almost every part of Africa. Colonies of them have found their way even into the islands of South Africa, where more serious difficulties would occur than in a journey overland to the Cape of Good Hope. By skirting the Red Sea, and turning to the southward, along the seacoast, the Great Desert of sand, that divides Africa into two parts, is entirely avoided; and the passage lies over a country habitable, as far as is known, in every part. Their pastoral habits and manners, their kind and friendly reception of strangers, their tent-shaped houses, the remains of that grand feature of Islamism, the circumcision of male children, which is universally practised among all the Kaffer hordes,—all strongly denote their

affinity to the Bedouin tribes. Their countenance is also truly Arabic. They differ only in colour, which varies from deep bronze to jet black; but that of the latter is most predominant. If they had the smallest resemblance to the African negroes, either in their features or conformation, they might be supposed to owe their dark complexion to an intercourse, in their passage through the country, with these people; but there is not the least appearance of this having been the case. To the Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, they bear a much stronger resemblance."

According to tradition, the Amaxosæ first settled on the Kae River about 1670–5; at which period they appear to have been governed by a powerful chief, named Toguh. Between them and the colony were the Gonaquas, a mixed tribe, which was ruled by Kohla. The Kaffer clans, belonging to Koocha and Tinde (subordinate chieftains), subsequently purchased the Gonaqua territory, extending along the coast from the Fish River to the Sunday River. In consequence of this measure, the latter were obliged to remove farther inland; and ultimately settled about Zuurberg, and Bruintjes Hoogte. Here, however, they had not remained long before the colonists came upon and drove them out in a manner the most barbarous. Being both armed and mounted, they of course found no difficulty in making themselves sole lords of the manor,—in enslaving the timid race whom they found in possession of it,—and in perfidiously infringing the rights of the Amaxosæ also. But more of this hereafter.

While I cannot go the lengths of some who have panegyrized the Kaffers as "the finest race of men ever beheld," I may, without fear of contradiction, state that there are many remarkably fine and well-made men among them. Many of them are tall, robust, and very muscular: their habits of life induce a firmness of carriage, and an open, manly demeanour, which is altogether free from that apparent consciousness of fear and suspicion which generally characterizes uncivilized nations. In stature they vary from five to six feet ten inches; and a cripple or deformed person is seldom seen among them. "The particular causes to which they are indebted for their fine forms, and athletic strength of body, I do not pretend to develop; but it may be observed, that they are exempt from many of those

causes that in more civilized societies contribute to impede and cramp the growth of the body. Their diet is extremely simple; their exercise that of the most salutary nature; their limbs are not encumbered with clothing; the air they breathe is pure; their frame is not shaken or enervated by the use of intoxicating liquors, for they are not acquainted with them: they eat when they are hungry; and sleep when nature demands it."* Thus far are we able to go with this celebrated writer; but when he represents the Kaffer as being free from licentiousness, we must dissent from his opinion altogether, although fully aware of standing opposed to the views of other travellers likewise, whose mistakes on subjects of this nature are perhaps to be attributed to their want of time for more minute and correct observation, rather than to any intention to mislead. It is easy for men who spend but a few days, or weeks, at most, among such people, to fall into errors of this kind.

"Though black, or very nearly so, they have not one line of the African negro in the shape and turn of their person. The comparative anatomist might indeed be a little perplexed in arranging the scull of a Kaffer in the chain which he has so ingeniously put together, comprehanding all the links from the most perfect European to the ourang-outang; and from it, through all the monkey tribe. The head of a Kaffer is not, generally, more elongated than that of a European; the frontal and occipital bones form nearly a semicircle; and a line from the forehead to the chin, drawn over the nose, is, in some instances, as finely rounded, and as convex, as the profile of a Roman or a Grecian countenance. In short, had not nature bestowed upon him the dark-colouring principle that anatomists have discovered to be owing to a certain gelatinous fluid lying between the epidermis and the cuticle, he might have ranked among the first Europeans. Among other causes that may have contributed to keep up the tall and athletic stature of the Kaffers are their frequent intermarriages with strangers. One main article of their trade with the Amatembu nation is the exchange of cattle for their young women. All the principal chiefs have Tambookie wives; for whom they pay a much higher price than for those of their own people."

* Barrow.

Neither the Kaffer nor the Tambookie women, however, are any thing near so well-formed as the men. They are mostly of low stature; very strong limbed; and particularly muscular in the leg,—more especially when advanced in years. They have no traces whatever of the thick lip, which forms such a prominent trait in the features of the African negro; and as widely do they differ both in person and character from the Hottentot race, in whose borders they have so long been resident. They are remarkably good-humoured, cheerful, and animated in general, excepting when enfeebled by sickness or age. There is a national sprightliness, activity, and vivacity about them, which greatly distinguishes them from the women of most nations that are but little advanced in civilization, and who are generally reserved in their disposition towards strangers. "We pitched our tents," adds the above-mentioned author, "at night, on the banks of the Careeka, amid several hundreds of these people; who, on our advancing, came swarming out of the thick shrubbery that skirted the river. A party of women were the first who advanced to salute us, laughing and dancing round the wagons, and putting on all the coaxing manners they could invent, with a view of procuring from us some tobacco and buttons. Good-humour, animation, and a cheerful turn of mind beamed conspicuously in all their countenances."

Their apparel, like that of the ancient Britons in the days of Julius Cæsar, consists wholly of beasts' skins, curried and prepared in such a manner as to render them perfectly soft and pliable. The inner side is then coloured with a kind of dark ochre, or charcoal. These leathern garments, which are generally long enough to reach to the feet, are merely suspended from the shoulders, like a soldier's cloak, and hang entirely loose, excepting when the cold renders it necessary to wrap themselves up more closely. But, leaving out of the question a small and indecent covering that hides the part whence the fore-skin was cut in circumcision, a state of nudity is that in which the men are most frequently seen; and in which they appear to pride themselves. Hence arises the filthy practice of rubbing their bodies from head to foot with the fat of animals, or some other unctuous matter, to prevent the skin from being parched by the sun's rays.

The head is quite exposed in the hottest, as also in the coldest weather, unless sickness oblige them to cover it. They frequently indeed deprive themselves of the slight covering with which nature has furnished them, by shaving the head altogether. But this is doubtless done, in most cases at least, for the purpose of ridding themselves of vermin, which is not a little increased by the mode adopted, and materials used, in dressing their hair. They seldom put any thing on the feet, except when travelling, and about taking a considerable journey; and then they only wear soles, or a rude description of sandals, consisting of stiff pieces of hide roughly shaped to the foot, and fixed by means of two or three short thongs, that pass over the instep.

I have been told by the old men that their ancestors were accustomed to wear a small apron when occasion required them to throw off the *ingubo*, or cloak; and that it is but of late years, comparatively, that this relic of decency has been entirely laid aside. The custom seems to have been abolished under the idea of its being too feminine, and incompatible with that fierce and barbarian boldness which in their view constitutes magnanimity. But I am strongly inclined to think that a principle still more depraved was powerfully influential in the debasement of their minds to such a degree, as to induce them thus literally to "glory in their shame." That the nation was not so far removed from all sense of propriety in former days is evident: first, from the fact that the more inland and northern tribes are remarkably particular on the point in question; and regard the Kaffer, on account of his shameless manner, as being more nearly allied to the tiger (by which name he is often called) than to man: secondly, some of the oldest Kaffers still wear the above-mentioned covering.

Many with whom I have reasoned have not only appeared conscious of the impropriety of their present habit, but have frankly acknowledged its utter inconsistency with that dignity and superiority which distinguish man from the brute creation. Nevertheless, as it is now one of their national customs, it is only to the rectifying influence of moral principles that we can with any degree of confidence look for its complete abrogation. The mere traveller may probably regard it as a matter of no consequence beyond the momentary disgust which it excites in the mind of a stranger; nay, by some this very thing

has been strangely used in argument as a proof of "the innocency of these children of nature," and of their being altogether free from those lascivious desires and licentious practices which frequently disgrace the ranks of civilized society! Fallacious, indeed, is all such reasoning; and corrupt must be the heart from whence it springs. Nothing can be more clear to the eye of the moralist, nor indeed to any one at all acquainted with human nature, than that "evil concupiscence" at least cannot but constitute one of the baneful consequences of such habits.

To this, in a great measure, may be ascribed a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes which obtains to an incredible extent. No man deems it any sin whatever to seduce his neighbour's wife: his only grounds of fear are the probability of detection, and the fine demanded by law in such cases. The females, accustomed from their youth up to this gross depravity of manners, neither manifest, nor apparently feel, any delicacy in stating and describing circumstances of the most shameful nature before an assemblage of men, whose language is often obscene beyond description. It is impossible to view all the dreadful effects of their present polygamous system without feeling convinced that any thing at all calculated to stem the torrent of this species of iniquity must be regarded as an inestimable blessing.

The dress of the women consists of the same rude materials as that of the men: it only differs in shape. Their *ingubo*, or upper garment, has a narrow loose flap appended to the collar behind: this extends to the bottom of the skirts, and sometimes lower, forming a sort of train. It is usually ornamented with three rows of buttons, placed in parallel lines from the top to the bottom of the mantle, each being set as thickly as possible. Without these (which all are not wealthy enough to procure), the cloak is considered incomplete. Short leathern petticoats also are worn; and, when engaged in any kind of labour, such as gardening, &c., constitute their only habiliments: the *ingubo* is then laid aside, being too cumbersome. By many, however, among the higher classes especially, nothing more than a small apron, decorated with various coloured beads, is used under the cloak. This is but three or four inches broad, and might seem to be used more as an ornament

than as a matter of decorum. Excepting cases of age, childhood, and mothers giving suck, it is accounted exceedingly unbecoming for a female to go about with her breasts uncovered. Over these, therefore, she wears the *imbeka*, which is also ornamented with beads. Great taste is frequently displayed in their caps, or headdresses, which are generally the most expensive part of their costume. They are made from the skin of a peculiar species of antelope, indigenous to the forest, and called by the natives *iputi*. This being cut to the shape required, a large quantity of variegated beads are stitched on with great regularity; and as white and light blue generally form the principal shades in this Kaffer turban, their contrast with the sable countenance of the wearer is far from being disagreeable. When complete, the weight is, of course, considerable; and the shape altogether too masculine to accord with European ideas of female delicacy. It is rare indeed to see a woman with any thing on her feet, even when travelling: she almost invariably goes barefoot, under all circumstances, and in all kinds of weather.

The chief women, even to the queen herself, are not at all distinguished by dress from the most common orders: like all the rest, they are wholly destitute of change either for days or seasons. Each carries her entire wardrobe about her person daily, and has no other bedclothes at night. Their leathern mantles are usually renewed once a year; and choice cattle are then slaughtered for this purpose expressly. Black cows or oxen are generally selected, a decided preference being given to that colour. The only visible difference between the most exalted and poorest females of the land consists in the quantity of ornaments they possess. Of these, bracelets, necklaces, and eardrops form the principal. Some have as many as fifty, and others more than three times that number of beadstrings around the neck. On the arms are rings of copper or iron; and when beads were less plentiful in the country, festoons of small *cypræa* shells were appended to their caps, and sometimes worn as necklaces. Suspended from the neck, or from some part of the cloak, many carry the shell of a small land-tortoise (the *testudo pusilla*), containing a quantity of red pulverized ochre, together with a thin piece of leather, wherewith this Kaffer rouge is occa-

A KAFFER WOMAN.

Harper & Brothers, N.Y. 1834.

sionally rubbed upon the cheeks. A button, shell, or small string of beads usually serves as a succedaneum for earrings.

The robes of the principal chieftains are generally made of panthers' skins, which give them a warlike and commanding appearance. These, however, are frequently thrown aside, or placed on the shoulders of subordinates, while the chief himself goes about in an old tattered garb, which would induce a stranger to conclude that he was the menial rather than the monarch. Few, if any, of the Caffrarian rulers pay much attention to appearances either in their persons or habitations. The whimsical change of fashions, so prevalent in most civilized countries, is here altogether unknown. Respecting their ornaments, indeed, they are somewhat capricious:—The kind of beads that pleased them last year, and for which they were then ready to give the very highest price, is now in all probability deemed mere refuse; a new description having been seen hanging at the ear or breast of a chief gives rise to fresh demands at the market, and throws all the rest, however beautiful, into the shade. But with regard to their general costume, this is manifestly the same, both in cut and kind, that their ancestors wore from time immemorial. Its simplicity seems to have been preserved throughout succeeding generations without the least alteration. Their minds appear never to have reverted to the practicability of improvement, either in point of comfort or appearance. Now, however, they are beginning to make innovations upon their old system; and on every station may be seen numbers of both sexes clad in European apparel of some description or other. In proportion as they become attached to, and have intercourse with, the mission family, they evince an increasing desire to assume our appearance, and to dress in a similar way. This, of course, at first, and until they become acquainted with the shape and mode of putting on the different articles, often produces ludicrous sights; the good lady being sometimes seen gayly promenading with the petticoat, or gown-skirt, suspended from the neck instead of the waist; and the gentleman strutting about in a check shirt, and a pair of leathern trousers, with as much consequence as a first-rate English dandy.

The men's ornaments are much the same as those of

the women. Their arms, above the elbows, are often adorned with broad ivory rings, cut out of the solid part of an elephant's tusk, well polished. From the wrist upwards there are frequently as many as thirty bracelets, made of iron or brass; and metal rings are also worn on the legs, just above the ankles. In addition to great quantities of beads, various other things are suspended from the neck, such as small pieces of cedar wood, the bones and teeth of certain animals, &c. These, however, are regarded as a kind of charms, rather than ornaments. Round the heads of the chiefs are sometimes seen narrow straps, thickly studded with different coloured beads, singularly and tastefully arranged; and on going to war, the complete wings of the blue crane, fastened on each side of the head, constitute their national plumes. Many decorate their legs with the hairy extremity of a favourite cow's tail, or with that of some wild beast that has fallen under their spear in the chase. This is attached to the knee, and hangs down the shin. The ears of all, with comparatively few exceptions, are bored; and among some of the tribes this practice is carried to an extravagant extent, distending the lobes to the very uttermost, and leaving holes of enormous size.

The Kaffer *inhlu*, house or hut, is of the most simple description, and far inferior in every respect to that of the Boochuana. The slight and fragile materials of which it is composed render the building but a temporary one at best. A circular frame is first set up, consisting of long straight branches, the upper extremities of which are bent and bound together with *umxeba*, or wooden fibres. The thatch which is on the houses of the South Sea islanders, extending from the ground to the top, is then bound on with the same sort of cordage, or otherwise with *intsontelo*, a small rope made of rushes, after which the inside is lined with *utyabeka*, a strong plaster of clay and cow-dung. When complete, the form is exactly that of a beehive; and the doorway too is shaped in the same manner as the *entrée* of those little insect dwellings. There being neither window nor chimney, this aperture necessarily serves for the ingress of light, as well as for the egress of smoke. The diameter of the room varies from six to twelve or fifteen feet: its floor is slightly elevated, and an *umseli*, gutter or drain, is generally made around the foundation to carry off the

water in rainy weather. Excepting a few thorn branches which are sometimes thrown carelessly around the hut, to prevent the cattle tearing off its grassy roof, it seldom has the benefit of a fence of any description whatever. Between the houses of the nobles and those of the most indigent there is no material difference, excepting that the former class are perhaps a little neater at first, but not at all more substantial, nor yet more convenient. The chiefs have indeed more huts at their command than the common people, owing to their having a greater number of wives, each of whom is required to make her own. From this work the king's wife herself is not exempt: she may have, indeed she generally has, more assistance than the wife of a plebeian, having more servants at her beck; but she alone stands responsible for the completion of the work. As these fragile habitations require but comparatively little labour and less cost, their destruction, or the necessity of leaving them, is seldom the cause of much uneasiness to the occupants, to whose pastoral and migratory habits this unsubstantial mode of building, in all probability, owes its origin. Being utter strangers to the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, they of course see no necessity for a larger or more commodious kind of dwelling. The climate is so fine and warm in general that the day is usually spent in the open air: it is only the night-shade, bad weather, or sickness that will induce them to remain much within doors; and when the latter of these causes operates as the occasion of their confinement, the scene is melancholy indeed!

A Kaffer *umzi*, village, commonly called "kraal,"* consists simply of six, ten, or a dozen of these huts, and a cattle-fold or two. The latter usually constitute by far the most prominent objects in the view: whatever may be the state of the houses, the folds have at all times paramount claims upon the attention of the own-

* This is a Dutch term, which signifies "beast-fold;" and by which the old colonists contemptuously designated all native towns and villages, regarding their inhabitants as a superior species of animals, but not men! So generally has it now obtained, that we seldom hear their establishments represented by any other name; but as we cannot too strongly deprecate the prejudices in which it originated, and which are now happily dying under the sunbeams of gospel light, it is certainly high time that this derogatory and opprobrious epithet should be wholly banished from our vocabularies.

ers, and are almost always kept in much better repair. The question whether or not a proposed spot is suitable for the *ubuhlanti* often determines the site of a village; which, on this account, is invariably built so as to ensure the sun's genial influence at an early hour in the morning. These enclosures are generally erected right in the midst of the houses, under the owner's eye, and within reach of instant protection in all cases of emergency. Gardens or corn-lands are scarcely ever attached to their hamlets with the view of beautifying the premises: sometimes, indeed, the cultivated grounds come within sight of the houses; but they are never laid out with the view of enriching the prospect, profit alone being the incentive by which the native horticulturist is actuated. No flower-beds, therefore, are to be found in a Kaffer garden; the rose and the violet, &c. never yet occupied a place there; nor do they ever seem to have thought of planting trees of any description whatever. So entirely devoid are they of that taste which induces an admiration of natural scenery, that they unhesitatingly cut down the finest trees for the most trifling purposes. The rural and the romantic are alike destitute of charms in the eye of a Kaffer, when selecting his dwelling-place: hence the traveller need not be surprised to find even chiefs, who have the land before them, burying themselves in barren nooks where they cannot possibly see to the distance of half a mile in any direction.

The wealth of the Amaxosæ and other tribes inhabiting this part of Africa consists not in abundance of gold, silver, or precious stones: to them these things, so eagerly pursued by the civilized nations of the earth, would be mere dross. Neither do magnificent houses, nor splendid furniture, as we have already observed, constitute objects of glory here. Large herds of cattle are accounted the greatest and most valuable riches that man can possess; and the increase of his stock, together with the various means by which that increase may be most fully ensured, is the subject of daily study with every native from the time that he is at all capable of engaging in the affairs of life, to the very last moment of his earthly career. This, in short, is the end of all his exertions, and the grand object of all his arts. His very heart and soul are in his herd; every head is as familiar to his eye as the very countenances of his

children. He is scarcely ever seen shedding tears, excepting when the chief lays violent hands upon some part of his horned family; this pierces him to the heart, and produces more real grief than would be evinced over the loss either of wife or child.

Beads, brass wire, and gilt buttons rank next in point of value. These, in fact, answer the two grand purposes to which gold and silver are applied in Europe, viz. trade and aggrandizement. They constitute the bullion of the country: and the sole medium of exchange, with the exception of a spear which is occasionally given in part of payment. In former days the returns consisted of cattle only; but since the door has been thrown open for export to the colony, ivory and hides also have become staple commodities. For the elephant's tusk they had formerly no other use than that of cutting it up into rings for bracelets; but, now that they have a regular market, that class of ornaments has in a great measure disappeared. As we have already remarked respecting their ruling propensity, the grand end in every thing seems to be the augmentation of their stock: hence they will seldom receive any article, however valuable in our estimation, for their staple commodities, that will not in some way or other enable them to make an accession to their herd.

Sheep, goats, and horses have but recently been introduced into the country; until lately, therefore, the pack ox constituted the only beast of burden with which they were at all acquainted. Now indeed we meet with a small flock of goats here and there, particularly among the Amatembu, which have from time to time been imported from the colony. Horses also are to be seen scattered over the country, some of which have doubtless been stolen from the colonists, and others left on the field as cast-aways in the different expeditions made by the latter against the bordering clans. Many of the young chiefs are becoming real Bedouins in their fondness for these animals; and some of them now possess very fine studs, which they are annually increasing. They have been much encouraged and assisted within the last four or five years by travellers and military gentlemen, who have presented them with horses of a superior description. The principal use, however, which they make of those serviceable creatures is that of the chase, in which they are quite as merciless as

the wildest Arabs we are acquainted with. I was much amused with the manner in which the old chief one day tauntingly upbraided his sons with not being able to use their legs since they had got *amahashi* (horses) to carry them. "This," said he, "was not the case when S'Lhambi was young; we then thought it no task to journey on foot, or to try the strength of our limbs in hunting. But things are altered now!"

Their manner of life is truly patriarchal, and their general diet extremely simple. This ordinarily consists of milk, which, like the Arabs and Foulah nation of Western Africa, they invariably use in a sour curdled state. It is called *amaaz*, and rendered thus thick and acidulous by being kept in leathern sacks or bottles, the appearance of which is filthy in the extreme, and, to the eye of a stranger, exceedingly disgusting. Those vessels are replenished with fresh milk from the cow, morning and evening; this is generally poured in an hour or two before they draw off that designed for family use. It is sometimes kept in calabashes (gourd-shells); but in these it often contracts a peculiar and disagreeable taste.* New milk is seldom used, excepting by children; nor does it ever undergo any other

* Returning one day to the station, after our customary tour among the neighbouring villages, the guide and I, parched with thirst, were induced to halt by the way, for the purpose of begging a draught of milk. This was handed to us out of one of these calabashes; and had not been long swallowed before we both became exceedingly sick, having drunk too heartily as well as too hastily. My sable companion instantly concluded that his countryman had given us poison, under a show of hospitality; and that "the devil was thereby making his way into our stomachs!" I was certainly very ill and vomited violently, insomuch that I could scarcely keep my saddle. This rendered him the more confident as to the correctness of his conjecture. He also was evidently very unwell; but not being able to vomit so freely, he fully calculated upon falling a victim to the malignant power of his imaginary foe. "O!" cried he, as we rode along, "that I could throw up as *umfundis* throws up; then should I be likely to live a little longer. But now it is all over; *umfundis* they cannot kill; *Sattan* (Satan) in him is not allowed to remain; but *umni, umni, umni* (me, me, me) he take fast hold; me cannot throw him out!" On reaching the mission-house, I immediately furnished him with a strong dose of ipecacuanha, thinking it might tend to relieve him, and to allay his superstitious fears. Many minutes had not elapsed before the emetic began to operate most powerfully; and upon observing a quantity of highly discoloured matter, which it brought away, he exclaimed, "Yea, yea, I sure *Sattan* was there: and that be bit of him!"

preparation than that already mentioned. This forms the Kaffer's standing dish; and next to this, a bowl of boiled corn. The grain most commonly cultivated by the tribes of Southern Africa is a species of millet, or guinea corn, *holcus sorghum*, called *amazimba* by the Kaffer, and *mabali* by the Boochuana. It is used in different ways; but most commonly in a boiled state. When thus prepared it is served up in small baskets, out of which each helps himself, making his hands serve as a succedaneum for spoons. Seasoning of any kind is seldom used: excepting when mixed with a little milk, the bare grain constitutes the sole ingredient of the mess. It is sometimes pounded between two stones with the hand (corn-mills being altogether unknown in Caffraria), and made into a kind of pottage; and at other times formed into thick cakes, which are always baked on the hearth, amid hot embers, after the manner of the ancients. Indian corn also is cultivated, but not so extensively; pumpkins likewise, together with a few other esculent plants. But of the latter they seldom lay up any store; consequently they are only useful while the season lasts: and this is in a great measure the case with maize also; for while it continues in season both young and old are seen parching and eating it at all hours of the day. A species of sugar-cane, called *imfe*, is grown in great abundance; of this the natives are remarkably fond, on account of its sweet and succulent quality. A decoction of it, as likewise of the Indian cornstalk, is sometimes made for the purpose of sweetening their mess of millet. Add to the above an occasional feast of animal food, and we have the diet complete of a strong and able-bodied people. They seldom sit down to more than one good meal a day; and that is in the evening, about an hour before bedtime: an occasional draught of milk is generally all they take besides. Few indeed are the wants of nature, while the appetite remains unenthralled by the vitiating influence of luxury. The spontaneous productions of the vegetable kingdom constitute their chief dependence, as it regards subsistence, in all cases of emergency.

Being almost entire strangers to the nature and use of spirituous liquors, they are in a great measure free from many of those disorders which are so dreadfully destructive in other countries. There is indeed a sort of metheglin which they make when wild honey is

plentiful. of this they sometimes drink to excess; and it is greatly to be lamented, that, notwithstanding the precautionary measures of government, and its positive enactments forbidding traders to furnish the natives with either wine or spirits, many still pursue a system which cannot be too strongly deprecated. The practice of giving drams to the Kaffer to "see how he likes them," or to have the "fun of making him drunk,"—a practice of which numbers calling themselves gentlemen are far from being innocent,—is one which threatens to be most injurious. Several young chiefs have by such means already contracted a relish for brandy; which, but a few years ago, they would not have ventured to touch: and were it in their power to obtain sufficient quantities, there can be little doubt that riot, poverty, and bloodshed would be the inevitable result. Well would it be if this vile custom originated always in mere thoughtlessness and imprudence; but unhappily facts are not wanting, demonstrative of designs the most base, and of motives the most corrupt. A horrid disease has been introduced among the bordering clans, which reflects the blackest disgrace upon some of our countrymen; and which is calculated to reduce the suffering savage to the very lowest grade of wretchedness.

It is worthy of remark, while upon the subject of food, that the Kaffer will not eat swine's flesh: hence pigs are never met with upon his establishment. There is indeed a species of wild hog to which he has no objection, and which he will therefore eat without any scruple; but when presented with a piece of pork, he invariably shrinks from it with apparent disgust. Veal likewise rarely if ever forms one of their dishes: this, however, arises, not from any natural antipathy to the flesh itself, but from a decided objection to the slaughtering of calves; "which," said one of the natives, very significantly, "for ever puts an end to your prospects of increase." The bare mention of our custom in this respect induces them to question the soundness of our judgment. There are many parts of the feathered tribe too which they refuse to eat. None of them keep poultry of any description whatever; and all appear to have a strong prejudice against eggs as an article of food. But after repeatedly witnessing the avidity with which the Boochuana tribes devour the flesh of the elephant, I was

most surprised to find that the Kaffers, on the contrary, would not touch it. However hungry and destitute they may be, their superstitious notions respecting this animal are such as altogether to prevent their feasting upon him. Curiosity one day prompted me to ask the reason; upon which one of them told me that "the sagacity of the elephant renders him too much like man to allow of his being made the food of men."

They have as great an antipathy to fish as to swine's flesh; and would as soon think of sitting down to a dish of snakes as to partake of any of the inhabitants of the deep. Some of the tribes, indeed, put fish in the same class with serpents. Hence, although the whole line of coast abounds with fish, the people never think of throwing in a hook, or of casting a net: they are, in fact, totally ignorant both of the one and the other. The reason is obvious; they are not often driven to the necessity of trying any new experiment for the attainment of provisions. Having fine extensive pasture-grounds, and in many places a fertile soil, they are seldom wholly without milk, corn, or some kind of edible roots for any great length of time together. The prejudice in question, however, has been overcome in the neighbourhood of Port-Natal, as well as in one or two other districts which we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel; the weaker and subjugated clans having there been compelled to avail themselves of entirely new pursuits to avoid utter starvation.

In some things the Amaxosæ are extremely particular; but in others their habits are disgusting beyond measure. When sitting down to meat, for instance, if the hands are considered unclean, a quantity of fresh cow-dung is invariably used as the substitute for soap and water. When engaged in the act of slaughtering, the beast is no sooner opened than a scramble takes place for the gall, the bitter contents of which are eagerly drunk by the individual who first gets hold of it. Nor is this all that is calculated to sicken one on such occasions. When cut up, pieces of the meat are purposely rolled on the floor of the cattle-fold previously to being used; and certain parts even of the entrails are but just thrown on the fire before the savage butchers voraciously devour them while literally covered with filth. The small baskets in which their food is usually served up are made from a species of *cyperus*, a strong reedy grass

that is frequently found growing about fountains. They are of a circular shape, neatly wrought; and the texture is so close as to render them capable of containing any kind of liquid. One traveller tells us that it is into these vessels the milk is thrown for the purpose of coagulation; while another, Vaillant, with still less accuracy, asserts, that they wash them with urine, to make the milk coagulate more speedily. But although neither one nor the other of these gentlemen is correct, the state in which those bowls are kept is indescribably dirty. Whenever emptied of their contents, they are immediately placed on the ground for the dogs to lick; and this constitutes almost the only purification they ever obtain.

CHAPTER VI.

Occupations of the men—Devotedness to their herds—Cattle-fold the place of assembly—Juvenile pursuits—Physiological character—Capabilities of the Kaffer—Native curriers—Manufacture of spears, &c.—Art of smelting—Hunting, a favourite pursuit—Mode of attack, and customs respecting the elephant—An awful accident—Degraded state of females, and their occupations—Mode of cultivation—Corn-pits—Native manufactures, &c.

Like most other uncivilized nations in warm climates, the Amaxosæ are fond of an indolent kind of life, and scarcely ever seem to be in haste about any thing. In times of peace the men are occupied chiefly in the management of their cattle, in visiting their friends for the purpose of soliciting presents, and in journeys to different parts of the country in quest of news. Every one is a zealous politician, and interests himself in every thing that at all affects the tribe to which he belongs. Hunting constitutes but an occasional pursuit, having for its object pleasure as well as profit.

Every man is a soldier also, and is therefore trained to the use of the spear from his very childhood. But as the extension of territory does not frequently form the main object of their wars, it is but seldom that all are called into the field. Nevertheless each is held subject to the beck of his chief in all cases of emergency, and whenever the country requires his services. The most

prominent trait, however, in the character of the Kaffer, is decidedly that of the herdsman, rather than the warrior; for, as already intimated, he is never so happy as when engaged in something that is calculated either to increase the numbers or improve the appearance of his cattle.* Such is his daily attention to these that one out of a thousand would be immediately missed. His perfect acquaintance with every little spot on the hide, turn of the horns, or other peculiarity, after having seen an animal once or twice, is indeed astonishing, and says much for his powers of observation.

Although he may have numerous servants or vassals at his command, it is accounted no disparagement for an *Inkos enkulu* (great captain or chief) to be seen tending his own herds. The numerous and fantastical shapes into which they twist the horns of many of their oxen give them a singular and often an unnatural appearance. This is of course done while the horn is flexile, and capable of being bent any way without difficulty to the operator, or injury to the beast. Their expert management and perfect command of oxen is such as often furnishes demonstrative evidence of the knowledge these creatures possess of their respective owners, whose singular manœuvres as well as language might seem to be instantly comprehended by them. One of their most favourite amusements is that of racing young cattle, which are sometimes made to go at an astonishing rate: on these occasions a native, on horseback and at full gallop, frequently leads the van. The winning ox is lauded to the very skies, and the praises of the multitude pronounced upon it in the most vociferous manner.

The erection of cattle-folds likewise constitutes a part of the men's employ. These, however, being of the most simple description, require no great pains or labour. They seldom consist of any thing more than a quantity

* The following fact may serve to place his attachment to these in the strongest point of view:—"Jama, expecting soon to be condemned by an *umhlaho*, endeavoured lately to escape with his cattle in the night, having first muzzled them, lest their lowing should cause him to be discovered; but he was prevented by his family, who threatened to alarm the place if he took one beast with him. The old man, therefore, finding that he would not be permitted to take his cattle, and not being able to leave them behind (although his life was hourly in danger), remained at home, patiently waiting the issue!"—*Missionary Notices. Sept.* 1832.

of thorns, placed so as to form a circular hedge, the vacancies and openings in which are carefully filled up with smaller branches. These enclosures are sometimes made with posts and boughs closely woven together as a kind of lattice-work; and when the colder season sets in, every breach and interstice is filled up, lest the wintry blast should destroy any of their flock. As they are absolutely obliged to collect and bring home the cattle every night, in order to preserve them from wolves and other beasts of prey, every man is extremely anxious that his herd should lie as dry and as warm as possible; and considerable judgment is generally evinced in their choice of situations for this purpose. With this view, the sloping sides of hills, facing the rising sun, are invariably preferred as places of residence. But there is, moreover, another reason for their making the *ubuhlanti* as comfortable as possible: like the bantang of the Mandingo tribes in Western Africa, it is invariably made the place of general resort and concourse.

The herds are kept in the fold to a much later hour than would be deemed proper by a European farmer; and their milking hour is generally a very late one. Among the plebeian order each man milks his own cows; but the chiefs have a certain class of servants, whose exclusive business it is to superintend the *abalusi* (herders) milk the cows morning and evening, and personally (no proxy whatever being allowed in this case) see to the milk being properly and purely poured into the household bottles, with which they are at all times sacredly charged. No other person, not even the master himself, is allowed to put in or take out a single drop. When the cattle are turned out to graze, they are usually accompanied by the village boys, who not only assist in tending them, but amuse themselves during the day by pursuing to the utmost extent of their pastoral limits birds, hares, and the smaller sort of antelopes, particularly the little *pigmæa*. They are remarkably dexterous in throwing the *keerie*, a small knob-stick, with which they frequently bring down the smallest class of birds at a considerable distance. This stick is sometimes used as a horticultural implement; and it certainly seems much better adapted for dibbling than for hostile purposes. Those little herdsmen frequently use it in this way also, and thus furnish themselves with a variety of edible roots when hungry,—dinner, or a

mid-day meal, being altogether out of the question. They almost always run naked, and are fine, bold, healthy-looking lads. There is an erectness of deportment and openness of expression about them which is wholly free from the most distant indications of fear. Often have I been constrained, while beholding these youngsters, deeply to sigh over the untutored state of their minds. The ancients, we are told, were of opinion that the face was always the index of the mind. Modern physiognomists have gone a step further, contending that a fine form, perfect in all its parts, cannot contain a crooked or an imperfect mind. Supposing this to be the case, that eminent speculator upon the subject, the late Thomas Hope, Esq., F.R.S., and F.S.A., has strangely missed his mark. In his elaborate treatise on the "Origin and Prospects of Man," he confidently asserts, with the view evidently of making out a theory, rather than of supporting truth, that "the genus man comprises distinct species, each derived from its own peculiar parent stock, discriminated one from the other by a comparative scale of excellence both in physical and intellectual capacity; the former, if not determining the latter, at least being its unerring index; and that between these several races is a boundary, not only distinct and well-defined, but impassable; so that a Caffre or Samoyed could no more, by whatever pains in education or discipline, be elevated to the comprehension of European science, than the dullest of brutes be trained to the sagacity of the elephant!" In reply to such reasoning, suffice it to ask, Has it been fairly and fully put to the test of practical proof? We believe not; and further, that its conclusions are wholly unsupported by fact. Were we to adopt the above-mentioned physiological rule as the criterion of judgment, the Kaffer's mind would not be found at all deficient in talent; and the evidences already before us of its real character are such as to induce a settled conviction that the aids of education only are requisite to place its powers in the most advantageous point of view.

The erection of fences around their cultivated grounds constitutes another part of the men's occupation in the planting season; but to this they seldom attend until the blade has made its appearance; and they are generally so slight and loosely put together as scarcely to deserve the name of hedges. Sometimes, indeed, posts or

branches of trees are planted, which easily and quickly take root. When this happens (for it is more the consequence of accident than intention that they lay hands upon this kind of material), it saves them much trouble, as the other parts of the hedge are of course considerably strengthened by them. They never think of making their enclosures of durable materials, although this might in many places be done with quite as little trouble. This inconsiderateness, productive of manifold disadvantages owes its origin doubtless to the unsettled mode of life induced by their pastoral habits, and its universal prevalence to the custom of their forefathers from time immemorial. No sooner has the harvest ended than the garden is again thrown open, and becomes a part of the common as before, the fence being converted into fuel; nor does the circumstance of their having settled, or the prospect of cultivating the same plot the ensuing year, make any difference in this respect: there being abundance of bush and coppice wood in Kafferland, the inhabitants find much less difficulty in continuing this practice than they would in many other parts of the country.

We have already had occasion to notice the manner in which the clothing (if clothing it may be called) of the Kaffer is made. It may, however, be necessary here to remark, that the preparation of it invariably forms a part of the man's duty. He not only makes his own *ingubo*, but likewise that of his wife, together with those of his children also. The latter, indeed, seldom consist of any thing more than roughly-dressed calves' skins. This work is almost always performed in the winter season. Hence, between the months of May and July, or August, there is generally a great show of new cloaks, which are made quite as black as the skins they cover. The hide intended for an *ingubo* is first stretched out and fixed to the ground with wooden pegs, by which it is distended as much as possible; it is then well scraped, and every particle of flesh entirely removed. When sufficiently dry, and wholly deprived of the power of contraction, it is beaten with smooth stones until perfectly soft and flexile. The inner side is then again curried with a sharp serrated instrument till a nap resembling that of cloth is raised over the whole surface; and having rubbed it well with a mixture of grease and ochre, the garment is considered complete. When this

general renewal of mantles takes place, it is, of course, an occasion of considerable slaughter throughout the land; and the economy manifest in the selection of winter for this business is worthy of notice. In summer there is seldom much want of provisions, unless the drought be extremely severe: the produce of the field, together with plenty of milk, keeps all in good-humour. But about June or July their daily supply of the latter is greatly diminished in consequence of the cold; and this extraordinary supply of animal food is then more particularly seasonable.

Some of the natives are by no means the most contemptible artisans. Had they but proper tools, and a little instruction as to the use of them, their *abakandi* (smiths) would in all probability soon excel. The remoter tribes are far in advance of the Kaffer, as it regards the smelting of iron. Nevertheless, when it comes into his hand in a malleable state, the latter is able to shape it to his purpose with great ingenuity. Their hammer, as well as anvil, seldom consists of any thing more than a common hard stone, with which, however, they manage to give a neat finish to spears of different forms, metallic beads, and small chains: bracelets also, both of iron and brass, are frequently manufactured by these self-taught mechanics with considerable taste. Much genius and clever workmanship are sometimes displayed in the blade of the *umkoncto* (assagai) which constitutes their principal weapon, offensive and defensive. In addition to this, the *Umkandi* makes a small description of hatchets, which, although most inefficient in the estimation of a European, serve every purpose for which the natives want them. Being intolerably fond of smoking, numbers employ themselves in the manufacture of wooden pipes; but in these they seldom display either taste or industry, as they are in general prodigiously clumsy.

The various wars that have taken place within the last few years among the tribes higher up the coast, and in the interior, have been the means of throwing among the southern clans numbers of poor destitute exiles, who, from their being acquainted with the art of smelting metallic ores, are likely to prove very useful, both to the Amaxosæ and Amatembu. These strangers have several peculiar customs, which differ entirely from those of the Kaffer. Like the Boochuanas, they use abundance of

snuff, and only smoke occasionally; whereas the others smoke constantly, and seldom or never take snuff. A small bottle, curiously formed of a kind of gelatinous matter, serves as the substitute for a box, and is usually suspended by a string, either from the neck or some part of the *ingubo*. To this is attached a small ivory spoon, with which they serve up the contents, in such measure as always to cause copious streams to flow from the eyes. This unfortunate people, being bereft of their country and their all, are glad to become herders, vassals, or any thing, in order to avoid utter starvation. As servants, they appear to be faithful to the trust confided in them. There is, however, nothing of the sprightliness and vivacity of the Kaffer about them: on the contrary, their countenances are in most instances strongly marked with something of a jejune and sorrowful cast.

Hunting is a favourite pursuit; but in no part of Southern Africa, that I have seen, is game so exceedingly scarce as in Kafferland. Scarcely can a buck or a hare start from their sylvan retreats without being immediately put to the chase. The moment they are discovered, *zingela* (hunt) becomes the general cry, and this is vociferously extended from one to the other, until a host of sportsmen and dogs are collected. Very few seconds elapse before all are on full stretch. Their usual practice is to throw themselves into a complete circle, whereby the poor animal is wholly surrounded, and escape rendered almost impossible. While busy in the mission garden one morning, I was suddenly surprised by the clamour of a number of voices raised simultaneously and in an instant; and I had hardly time to look around me before scores were flying in every direction. Some were armed with the *unkonto*, and others with clubs: and in a very few minutes we heard the pitiful screams of a small antelope, that had become the prey of its ferocious assailants.

On these occasions, the *inja* (dog), although of the most wretched description, appears to render essential service. Troops of them accompany the Kaffer wherever he goes. The immense swarms indeed of these animals which we everywhere meet with constitute one of the chief nuisances of the country. Instead of the noble crow of chanticleer, which cheers the European farm-yard, and enlivens the little villages of civil-

ized society, the dissonant sound, or dismal howl, of the canine tribe ever and anon assails one's ears on approaching a native hamlet. From their wild and voracious disposition, we have sometimes suffered on our mission stations. Having been always trained to the pursuit of game, and being altogether unaccustomed to sheep, goats, and domestic fowls, our flocks and poultry too have frequently been made their prey. In some few instances the chiefs have ordered the offenders to be destroyed: but even these well-intended measures were often productive of consequences still more trying, as the owners went away weeping, and seldom or never visited the station afterward. It is therefore advisable rather to endure the destruction of our property, although exceedingly trying, and the means perhaps of reducing us to very painful straits, than to have recourse to harsh measures, by which the parties become offended, and the adversary of souls enabled to keep them in ignorance, and in the shadow of death. It is but just to observe, that although many and serious depredations of this description have occurred at different times, I do not recollect one single instance wherein they were the result of intention or design on the part of the natives themselves. On the contrary, the latter have, at all times, manifested a readiness to exert themselves to the uttermost in endeavours to rescue the flock, and prevent a repetition of the injury. Hence, in process of time, this evil will doubtless be remedied.

When the chiefs call their men together for the express purpose of hunting, the *inglovu* (elephant), and panther, or *amaputi*, most frequently constitute the objects of the chase. On those occasions, which, however, do not occur very often, the concourse is considerable; and they sometimes remain in the fields or woods for several days together. Connected with their pursuit of the first-mentioned animal are various particulars that may, probably, be interesting to the curious, as they furnish further evidence of the strength of their superstitious prejudices. By these they are literally kept in bondage unto fear; from which dreadful chain nothing less than a knowledge of that Divine and gracious Providence which mercifully presides over the children of men can possibly deliver them. For lack of this knowledge, they are perishing daily.

On Saturday, the 6th of May, 1826, a numerous herd

of elephants was discovered in the immediate vicinity of the station, which gave me an opportunity of witnessing the astonishing excitement produced by circumstances of this nature, and the manner in which they are accustomed to pursue those prodigious creatures. The signal was given by certain individuals, perched on the different highlands round about, whose stentorian powers served as telegraphic mediums of intelligence, each responding to the shouts of the other. By this means an immense concourse of men and dogs were speedily assembled near the deep and bushy ravine, in which the animals had taken refuge. The clamour of the hunters and the howling of dogs, reverberated by the precipices, and echoing in the disturbed recesses, now became tremendous. Just after we arrived at the place, a circumstance occurred, which I cannot remember but with feelings the most grateful. One of the natives, from his elevated station, perceiving that I was standing in the track which some of the elephants were pursuing, instantly came to my help; and, with the utmost anxiety portrayed in his countenance, hurried me away from the spot. I was not fully aware of the danger until my sable friend had placed me beyond its reach. His kindness, and the Providence of God, were then abundantly manifest.

The march of the herd to and fro in their umbrageous covert below sounded not much unlike the rolling of immense stones, making every thing bend or break before them. The cracking of trees and the falling of branches, together with the hideous screams of the wounded, furnished terrific proof of their fury, and of the havoc they were making. Three out of their number were at length brought to the ground, and several others severely speared. I was frequently constrained to tremble for the safety of the pursuers, while witnessing their fearless advances towards the huge and irritated victim, seeing that a slender lance constituted the whole of their armour. To see them, in a state of perfect nudity, boldly proceeding to within reach of one of these powerful brutes, which, by a single stroke of his proboscis, might have laid them lifeless in the dust, could not but give rise to the most serious apprehensions.

Although crowds be engaged in the chase on those occasions, the law enables the man who first pierces the elephant to claim both the honour and benefit of its

death. The latter, however, is but small, as he only gets one of the tusks, the chief laying claim to the other; and custom requires him to furnish a cow or an ox for slaughter at the close of the chase, which is usually concluded with mirth and festivity. Of this feast no chief, I am told, is allowed to partake, because the elephant is considered to be of equal rank with the greatest of their chiefs.

Their attack upon this noble quadruped is usually made from behind, in which position they are able for some time to elude the keen glance of his extraordinarily small eye; and sometimes even to hamstring him before he is aware of the approach of an assailant. His huge and unwieldly carcass, together with a disproportionately short neck, render him but ill able to turn quickly round upon his adversary. Of this the natives are fully aware, and advantageously avail themselves of his want of agility. When thus engaged in the act of killing him, it is not a little amusing, as well as singular, to hear them lauding the animal, and crying, "Don't kill us, great captain—don't strike or tread upon us, mighty chief;" while in the intervals between those different entreaties, they cast showers of spears into his tortured carcass. The instant he falls, all set up as loud a shout as their exhausted strength will enable them to raise. The tuft of hair on the extremity of the tail is then cut off and taken to the chief, who generally places it on a pole at the *isangue*, or entrance of his cattle-fold. It there hangs as one of the ensigns of royalty, and as a trophy of victory, achieved by his subjects over the inhabitants of the forest. The extremities of the ear and proboscis are likewise cut off, and with much ceremony deposited in some secret place, where they are left to decay; no one daring to disturb them afterward. This being done, and the tusks extracted, the remains are left to be devoured by dogs, wolves, and vultures.

Being somewhat curious, and desirous of examining the internal parts, I requested the natives to assist me in dissecting one of them; but they instantly started back, and looked at each other as if horror-struck. Nothing that I could offer would tempt them to this transgression of ancient usage: nor did they appear at all comfortable under the idea of my committing what to them appeared a dreadful outrage; but intimated that

the carcass must be left to perish in the usual way. I was obliged, therefore, to decline my project.

Some of the chieftains, who had been enjoying the sport, came to our house the following day, begging I would give them something to eat, as they were extremely hungry. This circumstance gave rise to various questions, which led to the discovery of the above-mentioned custom, prohibitory of their enjoyment of the feast. The situation of these men is rendered still more peculiar by another singular practice, to which they most tenaciously adhere. Seldom or never do the rulers of Caffraria receive or drink the milk belonging to a plebeian, even although the latter be one of their own subjects. This has, in all probability, originated in their great and continual dread of poisons—and a fear lest some designing individual should mix something of a deleterious nature with the draught he might administer to them. Such indeed is the universal prevalence of evil and malignant principles, and such the powerful influence of superstitious fears, that the great mass of this interesting people may be said to stand in jeopardy of their lives daily. Notwithstanding every precaution which they take, and which fully proves the entire absence of natural confidence, the chiefs are always apprehensive of danger, from the imaginary black-arts of the people; and the latter no sooner hear the report of a chief's sickness, than they begin to tremble in anticipation of some ruinous decree. It is really a heart-rending fact, that no man of rank ever becomes a subject of affliction, but some poor family or other is sure to be made the prey either of avarice or cruelty, and frequently of both; their property being confiscated, and their persons variously tortured.

Another strange notion, which has considerable influence upon the deluded mind of the Kaffer, came to my knowledge a few days after the above-mentioned occurrences. Having been much disturbed, and finding that they were not able to secure themselves in the neighbouring kloofs, these not being sufficiently extensive to afford them entire concealment, the elephantine herd made a general move, under cover of night, to another and more peaceable part of the country. They all emigrated together, and harmlessly passed within a few hundred paces of the mission-house,—leaving behind them a well-beaten path, forty or fifty yards broad. On

their way, however, a young calf, not many weeks old, was left in one of the ravines near Mount Coke, where it was discovered by a party of boys on the following morning. These came running to inform me, and promised that if I would present them with a few beads they would immediately return and fetch it. The bargain was instantly agreed upon, and the little juvenile adventurers forthwith started in high glee. But scarcely had they reached the precincts of the village, before they were met and questioned respecting the nature of their errand, by some of the older people: these sages very gravely advised the youngsters to decline the job, as it was one that might be productive of serious consequences. On inquiring into the matter, I was told that the scheme was one which would, undoubtedly, place both me and them in inevitable danger; that if we laid hands upon the young elephant, its dam would, most assuredly, know who it was that seized the little straggler, and would come by night and kill us in our houses while asleep. Such is the difference between the Kaffer and the Hindoo: while the one domesticates and renders them the most docile of all animals, the other has not the most distant idea of taming them at all; but even fears to have the very weakest on his place of habitation. Hence it was declared, that if we caught and kept the calf in question, the chiefs would all be afraid of residing in the neighbourhood!

The astonishing agility and dexterity of the Kaffer generally enable him to avoid accidents on occasions like the above. I only recollect two that happened near us: one was a case in which an old captain had his ribs dreadfully fractured; and the other was occasioned by a wild and infuriated buffalo, whose horn entered the abdomen of a middle-aged native: but neither of these proved fatal, although little or no attention was paid to them. An awful circumstance, however, occurred soon afterward to an English settler,—a young man, of wild and dissipated habits, who was in pursuit of game in the Fish River forest. This bravado was wont, fool-hardily, to boast of being able, at any time, to go within arm's length of the elephant, and write his name (Th-k-wr-y) upon its side. How vain indeed is the confidence which some men vauntingly put in an arm of flesh! Having one day fired upon and wounded one of these sagacious creatures, the latter unexpectedly

turned round and pursued him; and before he had time either to prepare for defence, or to effect his escape, it levelled him with the dust, and trampled him into the earth. His Hottentot companion only just escaped to tell the woful story, and to point out the spot on which were laid the mutilated remains of his presumptuous and unhappy master!

Having remarked on the chief pursuits and engagements of the men, we shall now proceed to notice those of the other sex. As in most other barbarous and unenlightened nations, the lot of the *abafazi* (women) is hard indeed: they are the slaves of passion, and perfect drudges. Major Laing's observations on the Soolima females of Western Africa are, in a great measure, applicable to those of the Amaxosæ and other tribes in Caffraria. "When young," says that traveller, "they are in many instances beautiful" (laying aside the prejudice of colour); "but the hard labour which they commence as soon as they enter the married state, and which may be regarded as a kind of bondage, soon destroys the charms with which nature may have gifted them, and they become, at an early age, even disgustingly ugly."*

Nevertheless, established custom and universal usage render them apparently content; and no class of people can be more cheerful and vivacious than the Kaffer women in general, until they begin to sink under a weight of infirmities. Scarcely do they attain the zenith of life, before their strength begins rapidly to fail, and symptoms of emaciation become strikingly apparent. In nothing is it more fully manifest that paganism reverses the very order of nature, and the natural order of society, than in the fact that in all heathen countries the weaker vessel is uniformly made to bear the heaviest burdens; and that woman is regarded and treated as a being of an inferior character, more nearly allied to the brute than to the human species. In conversation, the Kaffer frequently classes his *umfaz* (wife), and *ingegu*, or pack-ox, together; and circumstances of daily occurrence lamentably prove that he looks upon the former as being scarcely more valuable than the latter. Indeed his conduct towards his cattle is generally of a much more feeling character than that

* Laing's Travels, p. 360.

which is ofttimes evinced towards the partner of his bosom. While he idly lounges about, reposing in the shade, or basking in the sun, or otherwise going from hamlet to hamlet in quest of news, she must be busily employed,—not indeed like the women of ancient Greece, or the wives of the Bedouins, in weaving and grinding at the mill, &c.,—but in a manner still more laborious. Building, digging, sowing, planting, and reaping, &c. are occupations that devolve wholly upon the females; they are "hewers of wood and drawers of water" besides. Like those of the earliest ages, "at the time of the evening, even the time when women go out to draw water,"* numbers are frequently seen trudging with their sucking children tied on their backs, and vessels upon their heads, towards the fountain or river for water—a custom which appears also to have prevailed in the days of Homer.†

About the month of September or October these female horticulturists begin to prepare for their garden avocations—collecting the *imbeo* (seed), and getting their implements put in order. The latter consist of a kind of wooden spades, which are usually made by the men, and so formed as to render both ends useful. The valleys and lowlands are generally selected as corn-fields, on account of the soil being not only better, but possessed of much more moisture than is usually found in other places. The sloping and bushy sides of eminences, and the bases of hills, where we frequently meet with a rich alluvial deposite, are also regarded as choice spots.

Having obtained a plot of ground adapted to their purpose, they then fall upon their knees, and in this position commence the tedious operation. The seed is first thrown about among the grass and herbage; after which they dig up both ground and grass together, and thus plough and harrow in the grain at the same time. Having in this manner turned up as much as is deemed sufficient for their purpose, they leave the loose weeds and herbage spread over the surface to wither and die; and seldom dress or rake the garden until the blade has begun to shoot above the clods. The rubbish is then gathered together in heaps and burnt; and the men called upon to perform their part, which, as I have

* Gen. xxiv. 11. † Homer, Od. x.

already stated, is to erect the *utango*, or hedge, in which also the poor women are ofttimes compelled to assist. Within this enclosure a slight and temporary hut is now built, which has frequently reminded me of the figurative expressions of the prophet (Isaiah i. 8), "A cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers." It constitutes the miserable dwelling of one of the women, whose business it is to preserve the crop from birds by day, and from straying cattle at night. Here these watchers are obliged to remain as long as the season lasts, and until the harvest be got in. The chief of their grain being of a very small description (*holcus sorghum*), immense flocks of the feathered tribe are thereby attracted, and would doubtless prove exceedingly destructive, were it not hourly watched when beginning to ripen.

Several of the English settlers have at different times planted considerable quantities of "Kaffer corn;" but their other occupations not allowing them to pay that attention to it which its preservation renders absolutely requisite, I am not aware of a single instance in which the experiment has proved sufficiently successful to warrant the continuance of its cultivation. With the exception of maize, which the Kaffer calls *umbona*, *holcus sorghum* appears to be the only kind of grain cultivated by the tribes of Southern Africa; and the mode of cultivation practised by those in the remoter parts of the interior is precisely the same as that adopted by the Amaxosæ. Our custom of enriching the land by manure is one that seems never to have entered the mind of the African. Hence even the Dutch boors themselves, on whose premises there are generally immense masses of dung that have been accumulating for years, never think of throwing a single load of it upon their grounds. When they find that the soil is impoverished by the different crops that have been reaped from it, they then proceed in search of another plot, and thereon commence their work anew, leaving the old field to recover its strength by remaining fallow. An increase of population, however, will, no doubt, effect a change in this also; for, as the country becomes more thickly inhabited, the land will of course be rendered much more valuable, and the agriculturist obliged to adopt various improvements which are not absolutely neces-

sary while such extensive tracts remain wholly destitute of inhabitants.

The harvest being over, the corn is brought home in bundles: each woman carries her sheaves upon her head. A small circular enclosure is then made, and the ground within prepared in such a way as to form a good hard thrashing-floor, on which the *iminyani*, or ears, are laid and beaten out when dry. The Kaffer and Boochuana tribes are decidedly more provident and economical than the Hottentots. While the latter, with comparatively few exceptions, thoughtlessly kill and eat as long as their little stock lasts, or carelessly squander away their scanty pittance as soon as they get it; the former, on the contrary, uniformly labour to keep in hand a store of something or other; so that real and continued want is much less felt among them.

Like the Bedouins in some of the northern parts of Africa, they lay up their winter provisions in pits, or subterranean granaries, which are invariably made in the cattle-folds. The shape of these is circular, and their size, depth, &c., of course, vary according to the quantity of grain that is to be deposited in them. They are in general dug by the men, who proceed about them in the following manner, viz.—the ground being cleared, a hole is made just wide enough to admit a man's body; and when the pit is sufficiently deep to allow of his descending into it, the earth is gradually and regularly excavated on every side, until the cavity is large enough for the purpose intended. The workman is particularly careful to keep the orifice or entrance within such dimensions as are barely necessary to allow of his creeping in and out. Before the corn is poured in, the interior is thoroughly plastered with fresh cow-dung, and the pit is finally closed up with a thick covering of the same material, which ultimately becomes so hard and imporous as to be proof against both air and water. It is worthy of remark, that although these subterranean storehouses are frequently exposed, and the kraal in which they are made sometimes deserted for weeks and months together, an instance rarely or never occurs of one being broken open, or of its contents being unlawfully taken away. This would be accounted a very heinous offence.

The simplicity, but more especially the antiquity, of this part of the Kaffer's system of economy renders it a

matter of some interest. Allusion is made to this ancient mode of preserving the produce of Africa by Cæsar himself; and the same plan, though on a larger scale, was evidently adopted in the ancient and celebrated city of Tripoli, as appears from the "corn-wells, or caverns," which have been discovered within her foundations, and in which grain was formerly laid up for exportation. Varro asserts, that wheat thus preserved will keep for fifty years, and millet for more than a hundred; but the state of the grain, although perfectly good in the estimation of the native himself, after having been in those cisterns for the space of two or three years only, is far from corroborating this assertion. The superiority, however, of the depositories to which that writer alludes would doubtless make a very wide difference as to the perfect preservation of their contents.

Another contrivance is resorted to for the preservation of a part of their produce. The *imbeo* (seed) and *incuba*, or tobacco, are not unfrequently stowed away in a kind of upper store, called the *ixanti*. This place has somewhat the appearance of a hut perched upon bare poles, six or eight feet high. The latter are firmly fixed in the ground; and upon their upper extremities rests a sort of platform, made of sticks placed transversely, and covered with mats. On this is raised a slight frame, which is thatched in the same way as their houses. The whole structure is altogether detached from the other buildings, and is characterized by its singularity rather than by either its safety or utility. The stranger, on first viewing it, would in all probability conclude that it was either a pigeon-cot or a poultry-roost.

When the labours of the field no longer require their attention, the women are occupied in repairing their habitations, or in building new ones, in making baskets, baking-pots, or manufacturing mats. The pots which are commonly used for cooking, &c., are a very rude description of earthen-ware. They are clumsily moulded, and exceedingly inconvenient, having neither handles nor coverings. A comparatively small degree of attention is paid to the preparation of the clay, which in all probability is far from being the best; and hence many of these unsightly vessels are very porous. Nevertheless they stand the fire tolerably well, and answer every purpose for which the natives require them.

Their mats are of two kinds, coarse and fine. In the

former there is no display either of attention or art, as they are made merely to serve the most common purposes; but in the workmanship of the latter, both industry and genius are manifest. The *utyani* (rushes) of which they are composed consist of the very finest that can be found. These are neatly stitched together with thread, made from the bark of trees, and in such a manner as to give a closeness and regularity to the texture of the whole piece; so that, when well finished, they very nearly resemble many of the Indian mats. One of these, spread on the floor, forms the very best bed that Caffraria affords, and the only one used by the wealthiest and most powerful of its chiefs. Being but a single rush thick, it of course constitutes no easier a couch than the ground itself; hence the weary traveller is but ill able to obtain that rest upon it which his exhausted strength and aching limbs require. The Kaffer and his consort, having arisen from their slumbers in the morning, carefully roll it up, and put it away till wanted again. It is sometimes used as a seat also; but to scatter any particle of food upon it is accounted a great breach of decorum. Instances are here frequently occurring illustrative of our Lord's words, Mark ii. 11; as the natives are frequently seen walking with their beds upon their heads. Add to these matten couches, a leathern milk-sack, an earthen cooking-pot, and a calabash or two (made from a species of gourd), which serve as substitutes for tumblers, and we have the whole of a Kaffer's household furniture.

CHAPTER VII.

Government—Genealogy of the chiefs—Intermarriage with neighbouring tribes—Gaika's attack upon his guardian—His intercourse with colonists—Judicial proceedings—Kaffer law—Infidelity of females—Predatory disposition general—Attack upon the Mission fold—Thieves arrested—Author's study plundered—Alarming threat of the chief—A heathen ceremony—Vile conduct of the sorceress—Infatuation of the chiefs—Mode of proceeding in cases of sickness—Cruel tortures—Capital punishments—Affecting facts—Gaika's death—Treachery and barbarity of his son.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great dispersion of the different tribes, the migratory habits of many of the clans, and the numerous wars that have from time to time had place among them, they have uniformly kept up a certain system of government, which has evidently existed, as we now find it, from time immemorial. For the genealogical order of their successive chieftains, as well as for every other matter relating to their forefathers, we are of course indebted to tradition wholly, there being no knowledge of letters, and consequently no written record, to be found in any part of Caffraria. How far many of these traditionary accounts are correct is extremely hard to say, seeing that the facts themselves are in most cases merged in confusion. Rarely do we meet with any one among the younger class of Kaffers that is able to furnish us with much certain information respecting their ancestors; nor do even the middle-aged seem to have interested themselves sufficiently in the concerns of antiquity; consequently, their statements are generally of a hesitant and problematical character. Frequent and tiresome were the conversations held upon subjects connected with their customs and polity, ere I could arrive at any thing at all definite and satisfactory. But, anxious to redeem from oblivion every thing that might be in the least degree important or interesting, I made a point of allowing no opportunity to slip which was likely in any way to prove advantageous to my purpose.

One day a very old native, son of Galaka, Hinza's grandfather, came to the mission-house, entreating that I would give him a little medicine for his granddaughter,

who was sick. Having complied with his request, I proposed to him divers questions respecting the history of his people, and the events of former days; all which he cheerfully answered, and with a readiness peculiar to the aged when speaking of what they learned and saw while young. This venerable genealogist gave me the names of several ancient rulers of the Amaxosæ, with whom we were before unacquainted. "The oldest of our kings," said he, "of whom any account has come down to us, is Thlanga, in whose name we always swore in the earliest days."* Thlanga was succeeded by his son Goosh, at whose death Malangana, the son of Goosh, became the chief ruler of the tribe. From Malangana sprang Isikomo, who was heir to his father's authority, and who was succeeded by his principal son Toguh. Gondé the son of Toguh, and the next chief of importance, was the father of Isheo, the seventh in direct succession from Thlanga. Then comes Palo the son of Isheo, who appears to have been generally known by the name of Pharaoh among the old Dutch colonists, some of whom "fancied that he was a lineal descendant of the Egyptian monarch."† He resided, as did his father, and grandfather, and great-grandfather Toguh, in the vicinity of the Kae, where his remains lie buried at the foot of a tree, around which his council were wont to assemble. Palo was succeeded by his son Galaka, and Galaka by his son Khauta the father of Hinza, who is acknowledged as the rightful sovereign of all the Amaxosinian clans.

This account, which in its most essential parts is fully supported by the testimony of many other aged natives, differs somewhat from that of other writers, who represent "Galaka and Palo" as brothers, ruling in amicable conjunction after the death of their father Isheo.‡ This I presume, must be a mistake, and that Galaka and Khahabe, the two chief sons of Palo, were meant; as it was between these two that the Amaxosæ nation seems to have been divided at "the decease of the latter." Here, therefore, we arrive at a distinct epoch in the affairs of the tribe: which I have purposely avoided noticing until we had brought down the line of chieftainship, in direct succession, to the present era, so as

* The custom of swearing by the ancient or most celebrated chiefs, obtains universally.

† Thompson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 338. ‡ *Ibid.*

to present, in one succinct and unbroken view, all its principal rulers, as far as tradition will enable us to trace them.

When Palo died, his second son Khahabe removed upwards of a hundred miles farther to the westward, accompanied by all his followers, who formed a very large clan. Thus was broken off one of the main branches of the tribe, out of which naturally grew a kind of sub-government. It does not, however, appear that the event was the consequence of any rupture or misunderstanding between him and his brother Galaka, as the utmost unanimity is said to have subsisted between them. Hence their pastoral habits, and the probable density of population in the neighbourhood of the Kae, which, as is intimated above, from Toguh's time, at least, had been the chief seat of the tribe, render it not at all unlikely that the cause of their separation originated in some such circumstances as those which led Abraham to say unto his kinsman Lot, "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left-hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right-hand, then I will go to the left."—Gen. xiii. 8, 9. They finally settled about the sources of the Keiskamma and Chumi, in a part of the country which, like that chosen by Lot, is "well watered everywhere."

"Khahabe, after establishing himself in this part, gave his eldest daughter to a chief of the Tambookies (Amatymbæ); but, not being satisfied with the cattle that were given by the bridegroom, he sent his eldest son Umlao to demand a further contribution. The young chief, however, died in the Tambookie country; and whether there was any suspicion of treachery, or that his father only wanted a pretence for his violence, Khahabe immediately afterward attacked the Tambookies, pretending that they had employed sorcery against him. After a great deal of fighting, Khahabe succeeded in bringing off his daughter, and ravaged the Tambookie country to such a degree that part of it lay desolate for many years afterward; but this turbulent chieftain was ultimately overthrown and slain in one of his marauding expeditions." We may here remark, that while the chiefs of the Amatembu tribe sometimes marry into that of the

Amaxosæ, as in the case just cited, the chieftains of the latter invariably take their principal wives from among the Amatembu; and it is from the male issue of these that the royal heir is always chosen.

"On the death of Khahabe, his second son S'Lhambi succeeded him as regent of the tribe, Gaika the son of Umlao, the lineal heir, being yet a minor. S'Lhambi, the better to secure his own authority, placed his sister Ishusa over those hamlets that had been under the sway of his deceased brother Umlao. The only thing worthy of notice that occurred during Gaika's minority was an attack on the clan of Congo at the instigation of the Dutch colonists. Congo was assailed on one side by S'Lhambi, and on the other by the boors at the same time; yet though many of his followers were destroyed, he kept his ground in spite of his enemies. At this time Gaika was a very young man, and was taken by S'Lhambi on the expedition, to train him to hardihood and heroism.

"Gaika began at length to dread and to oppose the influence of his uncle in the nation; and what he could not effect by force he did by artifice. The first of his warlike exploits was to plunder certain villages belonging to S'Lhambi's adherents. This successful fray was achieved by the aid of a number of young men about his own age. On a remonstrance being made to S'Lhambi, he interfered and made the cattle be given up. But it seems this act of audacity gained Gaika no small admiration, particularly among the young warriors of his tribe.

"The next step he took was still more decided. He ordered the followers to seize and carry off a number of S'Lhambi's own cattle; and when his uncle's adherents followed, he attacked and drove them back with disgrace. Upon this S'Lhambi came to Gaika in a peaceable manner, and remonstrated against his violent conduct; but such an adept was the juvenile chief already in dissimulation, that he pretended to be entirely ignorant of the transaction, and thus contrived to pacify his uncle, who returned to his own hamlet at the Debé river. But he had scarcely arrived there, when Gaika collected all his followers, and surprised S'Lhambi, drove him from his dwelling, and forced him to take shelter in the territory of his cousin Buhoo. The fugitive chief was supported by Buhoo, and a great force was collected to attack Gaika; but the latter was on the alert, and, falling suddenly upon them, routed their

forces, and took S'Lhambi and Hinza prisoners. The latter, being only a boy, he discharged, but kept his uncle a prisoner at large."*

As Gaika dwelt in the same part that was formerly occupied by his grandfather Khahabe, his contiguity to the colony afforded him various privileges, and numerous opportunities for intercourse with travellers, as well as with his white neighbours, which were never enjoyed by his fellow-chieftains. This in part accounts for the circumstance of his being much more generally known. Moreover, being the principal chief on the frontier, an offer of the gospel was first made to him; and the first Christian mission to the Amaxosæ nation was established in his domain. These were highly important events, and of course materially contributed to his celebrity. But what tended finally to establish the name of this pagan despot was the manner in which he was publicly recognised in the year 1817 as sole representative of the Kaffer tribes; a measure the most injudicious and unwise that could possibly have been adopted. Not only was it repugnant to the feelings of every other chief, but, as might have been expected, naturally calculated to excite a spirit of jealousy, seeing that each was as independent of him as he was of them; and hence reasonably and rightfully expected to be equally treated with in all matters affecting their respective territories.

The Kaffer chiefs are in all cases both legislators and judges, while "the old men" and favourite courtiers form a kind of jury and council too. Their palaver and court-house, like the ancient Roman forum, is in the open air, under the hedge of the cattle-fold, or in the shade of a tree. The proceedings are always made as public as possible, and the people admitted without distinction. "The parties appear personally, plead their own cause, and produce their witnesses and proofs. The learned profession being here unknown, every man is his own advocate. Much personal display is manifest in their forensic exhibitions, and they are in general imposing orators. In their public harangues a man is seldom interrupted, although his speech be continued for hours together; but during this time his antagonist is all attention; when he rises to reply, every argument that has been adduced is taken up in the exact order in which it was delivered, and with as much precision as

* Thompson's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 339, 340.

if answered at the very moment. Memory is their only note-book; and although apparently put on many occasions to the severest test, they seldom seem to labour under any material difficulty in bringing up all the details of the subject by the astonishing powers of recollection. Their language on those occasions is generally strong and nervous, and their manner exceedingly manly and dignified. Even the children, when about to reply to the most simple question, step forward, throw back the head, and extend the arm; and give to their words a full, slow, and clear enunciation.

"The decisions of these Caffrarian judges," says a correspondent in one of the colonial newspapers, "are generally founded on precedents which are treasured up in the memories of the old, and eagerly learned and carefully recollected by the young. The following singular case, which is said to have occurred some years ago, will perhaps give the reader some idea of the state of Kaffer law. A calf in its way to the world, or, in other words, when but half-delivered, was killed by a dog. The case was brought before the king, and a defence set up on the ground that the animal destroyed never belonged to the plaintiff, and could no more be considered as a part of his herd than a calf to be born twelve years hence. Neither the judge nor any of his elders could recollect a case in point; and hesitating to establish a precedent even in so simple an affair, he despatched messengers to all the other chiefs for advice upon the subject. Each of them called together the old men of their respective tribes, and demanded their opinion; and all sent back a reply stating that a similar case had never, to their knowledge, been discussed before. The king then ordered the matter to lie over until his doubts should be removed; and with this resolution both parties are perfectly satisfied."

Their laws, like those of most barbarous nations, are few and very simple: they are founded less on deep policy than on plain natural principles. Nevertheless, as the source from whence they spring is corrupt, and the hands in which they are placed in the highest degree impure, it is but seldom that they are made to protect the innocent or punish the really guilty; injustice and violence are predominant principles, and among the crying sins of the land. Theft, adultery, murder, and sorcery generally constitute the chief characteristics

of their court calendars; and the latter of these evils is gravely portrayed to the minds of the people in a thousand frightful shapes, which, like so many spectres, haunt and scare their deluded spirits daily.

Being altogether ignorant of the immortality of the soul, and having no proper idea of a future state of existence, life is regarded as a thing of comparatively small value. Consequently the crime of murder is seldom or never punished with death, excepting in the case of a chief, which very rarely occurs. In almost every other, although *malice prepense* be clearly proved, the murderer is fully acquitted on paying a fine proportioned to the rank and importance of the person in whose b'ood his hands have been imbrued. An affray of a very sanguinary nature one day took place between a few of the inhabitants of one of the institutions and those of a neighbouring village, in consequence of several depredations that had been committed by the latter. The sufferers, having been obliged to take up arms in defence of their property, proceeded to the residence of the robbers, and demanded the cattle that had been unlawfully taken from them; but no attention being paid to their request, they had recourse to coercive measures, which gave rise to a bloody quarrel, so that three of their opponents fell. The matter was then laid before the chief, who affected to weep, saying, "You have killed so many of my soldiers; my number is now so much less." But no sooner had he obtained half the herd belonging to the delinquents than he not only laid aside his lamentations, but even declared that all they had done "was very good."

Such being the estimate of life in general, the death of a female by violence attracts comparatively little attention. Previously to marriage she is regarded as a kind of marketable article, and valued according to the price she is likely to fetch when marriageable; subsequently to marriage the husband laments her loss, as the master would that of his slave whom he had bought and paid for. But should she be a widow, her case is pitiable indeed, being without a protector through life, and seldom if ever the object of sympathy in death. Many of these poor creatures are hurried to an untimely end, unfollowed by a single sigh, much less a tear; and scarcely has the spirit taken its flight to the eternal world before beasts of prey are allowed without molest-

ation to tear them limb from limb, and drag the bones to their dens. Many a horrid and heart-rending deed is hereby placed beyond the power of human detection, and the murderer enabled effectually to elude the voice of blood.

"The infidelity of the Soolima women," says Major Laing, "is a never-failing source of litigation here, as in all other countries where, for want of being treated with due respect, they have no character to uphold. Like all other African females, they are loose in morals, as I could perceive from the numerous palavers which were brought before the king."* This is precisely the case in every part of Kafferland; quarrels and prosecutions are continually springing from the very same source. On this subject, therefore, Barrow, who states that "instances of infidelity are said to be very rare; and when they do occur, are accidental rather than premeditated,"† was evidently misinformed.

The beauties of a country, and the general appearances of a people, are at once exhibited to the eye of the traveller; but not so with regard to the depravity of their habits, and the deplorable wretchedness inseparably connected with it. These lie concealed from his view; and hence arise many mistakes on this head. "The Kaffer woman," says the above-mentioned writer, "is both chaste and modest:" he is, nevertheless, constrained to acknowledge that "the latter part of her character might be called in question. If, for instance, a young woman should be asked if she is married, not content with giving the simple negative, she usually throws open her cloak, which generally constitutes her almost only covering." Such indeed is the frequent practice, and affords proof sufficient of the absence of that principle which constitutes one of the chief ornaments of the female sex.

Fornication is a common and crying sin. The women are well acquainted with the means of procuring miscarriage; and those means are not unfrequently resorted to without bringing upon the offender any punishment or disgrace whatever. Should a young unmarried woman become pregnant, her paramour is required either to take her to wife or to pay a very heavy penalty. If the demands of the law and her parents be satisfied,

* Laing's Travels, p. 360–366. † Barrow, vol. i. p. 160.

and he should decline marrying her, we are told that he is nevertheless able, at any subsequent period, to claim the child, if so disposed. When adultery is clearly proved, the husband is in general fully satisfied with the fine usually levied upon the delinquent, although he only receives a part of it, the other moiety being claimed by the chief or his council. So degraded indeed are their views on subjects of this nature, and so low their estimate of character, that the man who has thus obtained six or eight head of cattle, deems it a fortunate circumstance rather than otherwise; he at once renews his intimacy with the seducer, and in the course of a few days becomes as friendly and familiar with him as ever. Should the wife, however, be surprised by her husband in the act of illicit intercourse, the law would justify the latter in instantly killing her partner in guilt; and this summary mode of punishment would be regarded as nothing more than his due. Corporal chastisement, or divorce, generally constitutes the utmost of the woman's penalty in such cases.

Most African nations with which we are as yet acquainted have less or more distinguished themselves by a predatory disposition; and although the Kaffer has not the same kind of incentives to plunder which are found to actuate the Mandingoe, Soolima, Foulah, and other nations in the west where the slave-trade proves such a source of rapine and cruelty, thievishness nevertheless constitutes one of the most prominent traits in his character. Of this we have already had occasion to notice many proofs; and it may here be necessary to remark that it is not the herd of the colonist only that attracts his attention. So prone is he "to pick and steal," and so powerful in his mind is the principle of dishonesty, that, if opportunity serves, he scarcely hesitates to lay hands on the property of his very best friends. This remark is the more necessary inasmuch as many of his white neighbours very erroneously imagine that it is from them only that he steals, and that by powder and ball they will be able ultimately to compel him to lay aside so injurious a habit. This, however, is a grand mistake; and one would really suppose that the engines of destruction have now played upon him long enough to convince the most inveterate enemies of the gospel, that something else is necessary to make the Kaffer an honest man. To effect this, and to root out of Caffraria

the principle whence it proceeds, will require a power infinitely superior both to human laws and British troops, although armed with all the terrors of death itself.

Since the commencement of a commercial intercourse with the colony, those of the natives who are more particularly addicted to these vile practices have been exceedingly active. Being able quickly to dispose of their booty, they in many instances effectually elude all research. When bent upon depredation, they usually conceal themselves until a favourable opportunity presents itself; and having succeeded in getting off with their neighbour's cow or ox, they first feast upon its flesh, and then take the hide to market with as little delay as possible. Should their nefarious schemes, however, be fairly and fully detected, the law imposes a very heavy penalty, amounting in some cases to a tenfold restitution; and in others to more than that. The following instances, which, together with several others of a similar nature, occurred under my own eye, will give a tolerably correct idea of their mode of proceeding in matters of this kind.

Our cattle-fold at Mount Coke was first erected at a short distance from the mission village; but within sight, and surrounded by native huts. Nevertheless, while we were engaged in divine service one evening, a party of marauders availed themselves of the absence of the people, and, after breaking open the fold, succeeded in taking away two oxen; one of which belonged to the society, and the other to my interpreter. The circumstance was immediately discovered by the herders, but the darkness of the night rendered pursuit altogether impracticable. No sooner, however, did day begin to dawn the following morning, than the neighbouring hamlets were all apprized of the robbery, and the natives flocked around us from all sides in order to proceed in quest of the stolen cattle. On such occasions every man is actuated both by hope and fear. He trembles lest it should turn out that the freebooters had driven their spoil in the direction of his habitation, so as to cause suspicion in any degree to fall upon him; while, on the other hand, he indulges a hope of sharing in the fine should the robbers be apprehended.

When the party had mustered, all proceeded with spear in hand to the entrance of the cattle-fold; and although the path had been trampled upon by the whole

herd, to my utter astonishment the track of the two animals stolen was almost immediately found by those keen-eyed searchers. Upon this, which the thieves had purposely rendered as circuitous and zigzag as possible, our host patiently proceeded for nearly two days, and until by the traces alone they found the very kraal into which the oxen had been driven. When within a few hundred yards of it they all collected together, and while advancing cried with a loud voice, saying, "Where are the cattle belonging to the Great Place? Who has taken the oxen belonging to God's House?" These questions they continued to repeat for some time without receiving any answer. Previously to their arrival the plunderers had heard that the "soldiers" (a term applied to men-servants generally) "of the *umfundis* were at their heels." This seems to have terrified them to such a degree that they scarcely knew what step to take. Consequently the oxen were left standing in the fold into which they had but just driven them. Their fears were raised to the very highest pitch by an apprehension of the dreadful consequences that would in all probability result from a report of the whole affair to S'Lhambi.

After challenging the inhabitants of the hamlet in the manner above stated, our people took their seats on the side of a small acclivity at a short distance. Here they remained for some time. At length an official message was sent, requesting to know what they wanted; their reply instantly brought out the headman of the village, who affected to know nothing at all of the matter. This, however, availed little; "For," said the others, "the traces go into your hamlet; you must therefore either show us where they go out, or bring out the oxen which thus went in." Hearing this, he affected to weep; upon which a number of his warriors came out, brandishing their spears and bludgeons, as if to intimidate those on the opposite side. But finding that their threats had little or no effect, and being all the time conscious that the offenders were in the midst of them, they at last brought them forth. Some discussion then took place; at length the captain compelled the delinquents, not only to restore the stolen animals, but to produce two young bullocks also, as an acknowledgment of their guilt and a fine for their conduct.

Had the affair not been thus compromised by the

parties on the spot, it must necessarily have been laid before the principal chiefs, who, on obtaining substantial evidence, would doubtless have condemned the thieves in a much heavier penalty. Knowing this, they were glad to comply with the terms imposed upon them by their own headman.

When the property stolen consists of articles that may be carried away in the hand, and of which no traces remain, recourse is instantly had to the wizard or sorceress. The power and influence which these pretenders exercise over the minds of the people is similar to that of the *greegrees* in Western Africa; but there is this difference in their general habits: whereas the latter make the woods their places of habitation, living in a state of entire seclusion from society, the former daily mix with and live as the other people do. They profess to be able by dreams and visions to ascertain the perpetrators of hidden deeds; and such is the implicit confidence placed in them both by chiefs and people, that their lying incantations are the instrumental cause of ruin to many an innocent family. Of this we have often had ocular and painful demonstration. The following case, which circumstances compelled me to witness from the commencement to its termination, may suffice as evidence of the entire absence of both truth and justice at this tribunal—of the jeopardy in which every one present is placed—and of the importance and credit attached to the bare, unsupported *ipse dixit* of these emissaries of Satan. Indescribably wretched must be the lot of those who lie under the doom of such a system, in situations where neither religion nor humanity is present to check its murderous decisions.

August, 1*st*, 1826.—At an early hour in the morning our mission village at Mount Coke was thrown into the utmost confusion, in consequence of a robbery that had been committed in the course of the preceding night. The door of a small outer room which I had appropriated as a study was broken open, several things thrown out, and two chests containing manuscripts, letters, and important official documents, together with a variety of other valuable articles, were taken away. The depredation was doubtless committed under an impression that the boxes contained beads and other available trinkets; as I firmly believe, from their peculiar notions

respecting a letter, that, had they been aware of any thing of that kind being within, no native would have dared to touch them. I was not at home at the time the circumstance occurred, having gone to a neighbouring station with a few things of which one of my brother missionaries stood in need; but on receiving the intelligence I returned, of course, with all speed. Crowds of natives of both sexes had already gathered together in groups in our streets, the affair being quickly reported among the neighbouring hamlets. The discovery of what I had lost made me tremble to take any step, lest the superstition of the chiefs should induce them to pour vengeance upon innocent individuals; and yet the value of the property, and the impossibility of ever replacing the greater part of what was missing, rendered silence difficult.

Hoping by the use of mild measures to get the papers at least restored, messages were despatched to all the surrounding villages, apprizing the people of the nature and particulars of the stolen property—and offering a reward to any one who might bring back either all or part of it. Deeming it probable that the thieves on discovering their mistake might throw away their useless booty to avoid detection, a careful search was made throughout the country, but all to no purpose. No satisfactory intelligence could be obtained for several days; so that the general impression on every one's mind was, that the cases and their contents were committed to the flames, and would never be seen again. But just after we had concluded divine service in the afternoon of the following Sabbath day, Mr. T., the artisan, who had taken a walk to the summit of the mount, espied them lying at a distance on the plain. Both boxes had been broken open, and the manuscripts all torn out and exposed. My pocket-compass, telescope, and a case of mathematical instruments, together with several other things, were taken away; but as these might be easily replaced, their loss gave me but little concern. The joy of our people on seeing the letters and papers, &c. in my hands seemed for a while quite inexpressible, as their superstitious fears had been so much excited as to induce many of them to conclude that in the event of its being proved that these things had been burnt in their land, some dreadful plague would be the inevitable consequence.

In the interim, the old chief, who was exceedingly enraged, declared his determination to put to death every man that might be proved guilty in this matter, together with their wives and children also. A number of his old warriors were therefore summoned to assemble for the purpose of investigating and making all necessary inquiry upon the subject. The business now assumed a very serious and threatening aspect: the chief stated that he considered the offence as committed, not so much against the mission as against himself; and his counsellors professed to be actuated by similar motives.

Friday, 19*th*.—They called in the aid of one of their most celebrated sorceresses; and, in reply to my remonstrances against such a mode of procedure, argued that the crime was one of great magnitude, and involved the interests of the whole tribe; that S'Lhambi was determined to be avenged upon his adversaries; and that such were their modes of finding them out, and of promoting the ends of justice. About midday an assemblage of several hundreds took place, with the young chief Kye at their head. As it was expected that some desperate measure would be adopted, I felt it to be a duty incumbent upon me to be present, with the view of preventing bloodshed if possible. The men were all armed, each having in his hand several spears, which rendered the appearance of the body extremely formidable. After proceeding in due form to the room-door that had been forced, they again withdrew to a short distance, and a brief consultation took place among the elders. One of their heathenish dances was then commenced, in which both male and female joined; and this being ended, all the old warriors, who formed the court of justice, then took their seats on the ground, apart from the rest. The sorceress, preceded by several other native women, now came forth, attired in a dirty black garment, loosely suspended from the shoulders; on her head were three large artificial tufts of hair; and in her right hand several sharp-pointed spears.

After exhibiting to the assembly a number of ridiculous gestures, and throwing herself into various disgusting attitudes, she announced the names of two persons (one of whom was then in the circle), stating that they were the men who had done the deed, and that she had

been made acquainted with the fact by means of a dream. Breathless silence ensued; and every eye was instantly turned towards the accused individual, whom terror had already seized. This pause was immediately succeeded by a sudden rush of the executive party, who fell upon the poor fellow in the most savage manner. While two or three held their assagais over his head and breast, the others completely stripped him of his garb, and of every little ornament that he possessed. The lobes of his ears were barbarously torn by the ruffians in their strife about the beads suspended from them; and the struggle altogether was such as to excite fears in my own mind that they were actually murdering him. I therefore ran up, and entreated the chief to interpose and prevent their doing him any personal injury. The tumult having subsided, they arraigned him at the feet of the council, perfectly naked, kneeling on one knee, and with a rope tied round his neck. The most painful and distressing apprehensions were portrayed in his very countenance; and this was not at all surprising, for, as he afterward told us, he considered his life to be at stake. This done, a party was despatched to apprehend the individual who was said to be his accomplice. It is usual on such occasions to bind the accused hand and foot; and to extort from him a confession of the crime by means of torture. For this purpose recourse is had to severe and repeated floggings, lacerations, and branding by the application of heated stones to the throat, breast, and inner part of the thighs. This would have been done in the present instance, had I not been on the spot; and the young chief repeatedly expressed his regret afterward that he had allowed this circumstance to prevent their taking all the steps customary in such cases, seeing that they had not been able to make good their allegations. In reply to all questions on the part of the defendant, relative to the grounds of accusation, nothing more could be adduced than the bare assertions of the sorceress.

These agents of satanic power are not the instigators of cruelty only; but their words are made the specious pretexts for rapine and plunder. Hence, when the party sent in pursuit of the declared accomplice arrived at the hamlet of the accused individuals, they unceremoniously laid violent hands upon every species of property that each possessed. Not satisfied with ransacking their

houses, they rudely stripped the person of one of their wives of all her ornaments; the poor creature having been but just confined, was altogether unable to get out of their way. They then seized the boys who were tending their herds, and threatened to put them to death if they did not point out every head of cattle belonging to their parents. This done, they brought them all to the folds, and at once began to kill and eat. Their feasting was kept up during the greater part of the night; and the following morning they drove off the whole of the herds belonging to the individuals in question, amounting to about seventy head, inclusive of a few calves. After appropriating the greater part of these spoils to his own purposes, the young chief distributed the rest among his counsellors, leaving to the man, who had all this time been kept in bondage, only one cow to preserve his family from starvation. Verily, "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." Thus were these poor men totally ruined without the smallest degree of evidence being adduced that could fairly criminate them in any way whatever. Hoping to obtain my approval of this despotic measure, and wishing me to report favourably of it to his father, Kye brought me two of the oxen: these I of course declined accepting, but availed myself of the opportunity to represent the injustice and abomination of his proceedings, which enraged and rendered him furious.

Keu and his companion now resolved on appealing to S'Lhambi, who, hearing that many things were still missing, was altogether dissatisfied with the whole affair. Orders were therefore issued for the re-assembling of his warriors under the direction of Dushani; who, accompanied by his counsel, came to Mount Coke in the early part of the following month. He arrived on the Saturday afternoon; and just as divine service concluded on the Sunday morning, crowds of armed natives began to pour in from all quarters. We soon perceived that they were about to perform another of their heathenish ceremonies: which induced me warmly to remonstrate with the chief, and to point out to him the sinful nature and manifest evil tendency of such practices, enforcing at the same time the sacredness of the holy Sabbath, which they were thus grossly desecrating. He appeared to be convinced of the truth of all I said, and even promised that their deliberations should

not be held near the mission village, if at all. But, alas! his promises were those of a heathen, and of one who saw no evil in falsehood. Hence two hours had not elapsed before the clamour of the pagan throng commenced within hearing from our houses. It subsequently appeared that all my arguments had been opposed, by his own superstitious fears, by the influence of his men, and by the artful insinuations of the sorceress, who found that her craft was in danger.

On this occasion the men were all arranged in semicircular order, with a crowd of women in their rear. While the latter sang and clapped their hands, the former kept up a heavy stamping of the feet, and a dinning clatter of spears, occasionally joining in chorus with the females. Their singing, however, was nothing more than a deep-toned hum, relieved at intervals by the shrill notes of the women, whose voices were generally predominant. And, notwithstanding the great paucity of sounds, unison being strictly kept up, the whole was by no means so unpleasant to the ear as might have been anticipated. In this manner did they employ themselves with very little intermission for the space of two or three hours, during which period the whole body retained its original position. What a contrast between this and a Christian congregation during the solemn hours of worship! But this I leave for the reader to draw, as we proceed. When silence was commanded and a pause made by order of the chief, it was for the purpose of giving the parties an opportunity to ask any question they thought proper; and as the accused had now a numerous company on their side, they were imboldened to challenge both the impostor and her council. Every question was put, and all answers given, in a distinct and audible manner, so as to be heard by the whole concourse; and to these interrogatories every man listened with the deepest attention.

In the interval occasioned by one of these parleys, the witch advanced in a circumambulatory manner to the centre of the area, occasionally muttering in a grumbling tone as she went along. At length she threw aside her garments, and danced before the people in a state of perfect nudity. This obscene and abominable conduct was regarded as a sure proof that dire vengeance was preparing for the culprits, and that they would soon be convicted by means incontrovertible.

With a dart in her uplifted hand, she again pronounced her verdict of guilty upon the men before charged with the crime. These immediately repelled the charge, and called upon her to prove her assertions by fetching from the place of their concealment the articles that were missing. She, in reply, exclaimed, "You have concealed them, and I command you to produce them." They again contradicted her statement, and declared their utter inability to comply with her requisition. At this crisis, however, it was quite evident that her menaces, coupled with their own superstitious fears, caused them to tremble exceedingly; and as they afterward stated, had they not felt confident that I should defend them until guilt was proved, it is more than probable that they would have been frightened into some kind of foolish and false confession, merely to get rid of their tormentors.

The woman, with her train, then left the assembly, and proceeded to the dwellings of Keu and his companion, which were about three miles off. There she pretended to make a diligent and mysterious search: after turning over stones, ransacking huts, peeping and muttering among the trees, she plunged into a deep pool; and from thence brought something up, which her deluded followers regarded as the very thing wanted, but which were actually concealed about her person all the time! It was nearly dark when they returned; and on arriving within about half a mile of the village, they struck up one of their war-songs in token of success. Such a terrific ditty I never before heard, nor could I have conceived it possible for the human voice to have produced notes so horrid. It verily seemed as if the infernal hosts were let loose, and as if a storm from the bottomless pit was just about to burst upon our heads. Milton's powerful language was at this mo ment rendered indescribably impressive;

> "————— On a sudden, open fly,
> With impetuous recoil, and jarring sound,
> Th' infernal doors; and on their hinges grate
> Harsh thunder."—*Paradise Lost*, Book I.

The surrounding glens and ravines loudly echoed a chilling response to the dread chorus; and never in my life did I feel more fully sensible of being in the way of the "prince of the power of the air," from whose fury Jeho-

vah's arm alone could save the helpless missionary and his family.

A death-like silence instantly pervaded the whole assembly as soon as the yells and howlings of the sorceress and her troop were heard: well knowing what they meant, every one concluded that the execution of the prisoners was now certain. Hence the poor fellows themselves, who were sitting apart from all the rest, with their heads covered, really trembled like leaves shaken by the wind. As the party approached, the young chief addressed me, saying, "The charges against these men are now substantiated: of this the shouts we hear are indubitable proofs: the law therefore must take its course!" Presently the witch came up, and, with an air of triumph, rushed into my room, which was immediately crowded by the sable throng, insomuch that I had but just space to stand in. With much parade and ostentatious show, she then put into my hand a few inches of brass wire, bent into a variety of forms, and a pair of old scissors (which she had borrowed of a Hottentot), carefully wrapped up in a piece of dirty rag, saying, "The first is your pocket-compass, which the vagabonds have converted into what you see; and the latter are the instruments which they stole from you!" Having said this, with all the confidence that impudence and delusion could inspire, she demanded a reward for her trouble; not supposing for a moment that I should venture to gainsay a single word she had uttered. Pity alone prevented me from giving vent to a burst of indignation: the benighted state of these souls calls for commiseration indeed.

All this time the chiefs looked on with evident complacency, and appeared to be as completely infatuated as the sorceress, or even the devil himself, could wish them to be. Hence, on my stating that the above-mentioned articles were things of which I had no knowledge whatever; that it was obviously the intention of this base woman to blind both them and the people; that the whole of their proceedings exhibited a system of lies only; and that it was calculated to promote war and bloodshed, and finally to destroy both body and soul for ever; their very countenances betrayed a mixture of consternation and wrath, and the eyes of the woman sparkled with rage; so that for some moments I was constrained to doubt concerning my personal safety

among them. In conclusion, however, I again told them that, notwithstanding the great value of some of the things that were still missing, I freely forgave those who had injured me, whoever they might be; and entreated that neither chiefs nor people would ever more place dependence upon the *amakeukazi* (sorceresses), seeing that they were mere fabricators of falsehood, actuated by the hope of gain, and manifestly engaged in the work of the devil.

Contrary to my expectations, they all withdrew without giving utterance to any hostile expression, excepting that the younger chief very angrily told me that the articles produced must be the identical ones I had lost; and that I only denied all knowledge of them from a fear that the defendants would be put to death. Thus ended this Kaffer trial: but although the guilt of the accused individuals was never established, a great part of their cattle were never restored, nor did they ever obtain the personal ornaments which were taken from them. Had the lost property been that of a native, there would have been no difficulty in the case. His dread of the *inkeukaz*, the influence of universal custom, and the prospect of spoil, would have induced him without a moment's hesitation to acknowledge whatever might be produced, however different in shape, size, or quality, as being the same article that he had lost. So much for the truth, justice, and mercy of Amaxosinian administration. The wizards and witches must be believed; those whom they accuse must be punished; and on such grounds alone are the herds of the defenceless ravenously devoured by the very judges themselves, "according to law!"

On the very same principle, and with precisely the same objects in view, all cases of sickness, however slight, are in this way turned to account by these sensual, capricious, and heathenish rulers. They are no sooner heard to complain of continued headache, a rheumatic affection, or a fit of colic, than the whole country is alarmed, the elders of the tribe or clan gather round the chief's residence with vulture-like fury, and nothing will do but one of the above-mentioned personages must be immediately called in; not indeed to cure him, but to name the person or persons whom they intend to *vreet* (devour). The wizard is well instructed in the matter before he commences his farcical cere-

mony, and some obnoxious or wealthy subject is almost invariably marked as the victim beforehand.

Hearing one morning that the people were assembling at a village not many miles from Mount Coke, on account of the illness of one of Dushani's captains, who had for some time been labouring under a pulmonary disease, I saddled my horse, and repaired to the place, accompanied by our interpreter. The part through which we rode was greatly beautified by nature; and the numerous little fields of millet, almost ripe for harvest, gave a richness to the view, and rendered it truly delightful. On coming within sight of the hamlet, however, my attention was suddenly diverted from the lovely features of the landscape by a scene that was every thing but charming. The grotesque group which here presented itself embraced persons of both sexes, young and old; many of them indeed tottered under a weight of years; and as I advanced, it seemed as if we were really pushing through one of the thick clouds of hellish night. A more affecting sight could scarcely be conceived: great indeed is the debt of gratitude we owe to that gracious Being who gave us birth in a Christian country! While witnessing the zeal with which this heathenish multitude discharged what each one considered to be his duty on the occasion, I could not but blush with shame before Almighty God, hardly knowing which to deplore most, their awful condition or my own unfaithfulness.

The whole concourse were ranged in the form of a crescent, on a gentle descent, in front of the huts, and with their faces towards the cattle-folds below. In the rear were numbers of women, clapping their hands and singing with all their might; while the men, as before described, beat upon the shafts of their lances with the *itonga*, or fencing-stick, and kept up a regular stamping with the feet in time to the monotonous air. The "wise man," a Fingu, sat in one of the huts at a short distance, in company with eight or ten other natives, who formed his train. The people had been assembled several hours prior to my arrival, and were momentarily expecting him to make his appearance for the purpose of bringing the matter to a close; but nearly three hours more elapsed before their expectations were realized. At length, however, his coming was announced, and every one instantly flew to his appointed station,

fearing lest he should observe them at all inattentive. Their jading exercise was now performed with redoubled ardour, and their doleful clamour rang through the surrounding vales. He was preceded by six or eight female harbingers, one of whom first made a tour round the assembly with a branch in her hand. When she retired, the others followed in the same way; after which a formidable procession began to advance with slow and measured steps: the sorcerer was completely encircled, and altogether concealed from public view. When they arrived within about thirty paces of the crowd, they halted, and the song became general. He now came forth, a disgusting figure indeed, daubed with grease and ochre from head to foot. One side of his face was painted red, and the other jet black: the skin of a wild beast was fastened round his loins, in the form of a kilt; and upon his brow was fixed a part of the jackal's tail. After performing a number of strange antics, which were ridiculous in the extreme, and exhibiting the most hideous distortions, both of countenance and person, he again retired into the bosom of his guard. This done, he cried, "Where are the oxen which are to constitute the reward of my services? Let me now see the price of my wisdom!" His request was immediately complied with, and the cattle produced, together with a certain bead, taken from the person of each individual present, agreeably to his demand. The latter were all respectfully laid at his feet by those who presented them, and who severally passed before him in regular rotation for that purpose. It was fully believed that he would, in this case, find out "the wicked one," by means of scent, as he very gravely and significantly smelt every bead that was put into his hand! Their offerings being all presented, they again renewed their doleful chorus; but this was not continued many minutes before silence was again commanded, and he commenced his harangue, to which the multitude listened as to an oracle. Excepting the occasional expressions of applause which proceeded in a responsive manner from every tongue, the utmost stillness prevailed. A depressing solemnity, not much unlike that experienced in a court of judicature when the judge is just about passing the final sentence, was now felt. No eye slumbered; no ear was inattentive; but all hung upon the

speaker's lips, and suffered not a single word to fall to the ground.

He at length declared that the warrior's affliction was attributable, partly to the evil influence of an old woman who had been accused of having bewitched her husband (because he died), some time previously; and partly to the conduct of a neighbouring captain's daughter, who had detained a small leathern bag belonging to the sick man; but principally to his own brother, who was master of the *umzi* in which they were then assembled, and whom the sorcerer charged with having taken a quantity of matter vomited by the patient, in the commencement of his illness. This, he further stated, had been wrapped up in a piece of leather, and carefully hid in the roof of his dwelling. Here the accused interrupted, and desired him to show some ground for so grave an allegation, at the same time exclaiming with a loud voice, "Is not the man my brother? What inducement could I have to injure my brother? How did I take that which you lay to my charge? And supposing I had done such a thing, in what way could that injure any man?" The fellow, however, did not stop to answer any of these questions, but hasted away from the place as quickly as possible, and under evident apprehensions of personal danger, as the concourse was now divided into two parties, and that which stood on his side was by far the weakest. Having in all probability anticipated this, he had craftily postponed the rencounter until it was nearly dark; so that the shades of evening served as a covert, and facilitated his escape.

Seeing that he did not so much as attempt to bear out the charges, I naturally concluded that no harm would be done to those against whom he alleged them; but, alas! many days had not elapsed before the poor man was forcibly bereft of nearly the whole of his little stock; and only escaped corporal punishment by taking flight to a distant part of the land. One of the females alluded to was required to produce ten head of horned cattle, or undergo severe burnings. Not having so much as a single beast in the world, her aged father was sued, and compelled to pay the whole amount. The other poor creature, being a friendless widow, and having nothing to give as a ransom for her life, was ordered to be immediately pursued and put to death. Thus outlawed, and every moment in danger, she was obliged to

abandon both house and home, and take refuge in the woods, where she would probably perish of want, if not by the hand of violence.

In proof of the general prevalence of this banefully superstitious custom, I shall only add the details of one case more, which was witnessed by my colleague Mr. W. Shaw. Pato's eldest son not having speedily recovered after his circumcision, in the early part of 1828, many of the counsellors of the tribe insisted upon calling a "wise woman," in order to ascertain who had bewitched the youth. This was deemed the more necessary, inasmuch as Pato himself had for some time previously been suffering under a disorder which they likewise ascribed to witchcraft,—the imaginary source of all their woes. Nay, a third argument in support of the measure was drawn from a slight mortality that had taken place among the chief's cattle; and this decided the point; for seven or eight of his cows or oxen having died within the space of a month or two, it could not, forsooth, in their opinion, be otherwise than that they were all bewitched together. Consequently, the old lady was sent for without delay.

"Yesterday afternoon" (March 23d, 1828), says Mr. Shaw, "all the people residing in the immediate neighbourhood assembled at Pato's kraal; at least seven hundred men and women were present: they all formed into a large circle, and commenced their ceremonies, preparatory to the appearance of the 'wise woman,' by beating on the shafts of their lances with their *intonga* (fencing-sticks). This was done in regular time, and produced a singular effect; while the women accompanied this exercise of the men by clapping their hands and singing. I was much affected at the sight of such unmixed heathenism, and felt alarmed lest the culprit should be sacrificed, as the note of preparation evidently had the effect of exciting the fury of the people. The residents of the mission village all stood around me, on the lower side of the circle, and, like myself, were spectators of the proceedings, taking no part whatever therein: this formed a pleasing contrast to the painful scene before me; and it could not fail to be observed by the other natives.

"At length the 'wise woman' appeared, accompanied by a few men and women of the clan to which she belongs. She had tied two or three handkerchiefs round

her waist; her face had been coloured on one side with white clay, and the other had been made quite black with charcoal; her body was smeared with grease and red ochre; two large tufts, made of the hair of wild animals, were fastened on her head, and in her hand she held three spears: altogether nothing could be devised by human ingenuity to render her appearance more hideous and disgusting. After running round the circle several times, and performing several unmeaning but odd antics, she delivered a short address, intimating her unwillingness to proceed, and also stating that she knew not what influenced her, but she did not feel her usual freedom. One of the counsellors now addressed her, and urged her to the most strenuous exertions for the discovery of the culprit. Among other observations, he said, 'We are all weeping; our chief is already sick, and his cattle are dying every day: and now another evil thing which we did not expect has happened,—the lad, the son of the chief, is bewitched; therefore go on; let us see how it will end.'

"The artful woman, having drawn this speech from the very man whom she intended charging with the crime, immediately answered, 'I am glad you say so; let us go to your kraal; you must show us the way; and there I will produce and exhibit something.' All now ran off to the man's kraal, where the woman produced a bag of *ubootie*, or bewitching matter, and which appeared to be hidden in a pool of water. My fears were excited for the man; but I was relieved by the information that Pato had given no orders for the seizure of his person or of his cattle; the ceremonies of this day he had decided should only be those which they call *ukumbulelo*, in which case only the bewitching matter is sought out, while the offender is not formally announced. It is, however, likely that before long the people will be again assembled to go through the ceremonies called *umhlahlo*, when the name of the offender or offenders will be announced, and they will as usual be punished and tortured."

Their modes of torture are various; and in some instances indescribably horrid: the very idea of them produces in one's mind a chilling sensation. Some cases I have seen, and of others I have heard; and many a time have I shuddered while witnessing their effects. These alone furnish proof sufficient that paganism is

abhorrent in the extreme. Beating with the *induku*, or club, until the offenders are almost lifeless, is a comparatively mild measure. They are more frequently bound down, and tormented by means of large black ants, with which their bodies are literally covered from head to foot. Those who are doomed to undergo this process are first pinioned to the ground at full length, and in such a manner as to render it utterly impossible for them to move hand or foot: the poisonous swarm is then let loose upon them, and their stinging powers purposely stimulated. The eyes, the ears, and even the tongue are all made to feel the painful smart, for the insects are not unfrequently forced into the mouth. In this way many a poor female is put upon the rack, and afterward concealed in the lonely forest or cheerless dell until her wounded flesh is in some measure healed again.

Roasting and branding come next in order, and constitute a fiery ordeal indeed. Posts are firmly fixed in the ground, at certain distances, and to these the culprit is tied with thongs, and with his arms and legs distended to the very uttermost. A fire is then made on each side of him, at his head also, and likewise at his feet. Here he broils, and when he seems likely to expire amid the encompassing flame, the fires are partly removed; but it is only to "shift the rack." Hot stones are now applied to the breast, the abdomen, the inner parts of the thighs, or to the soles of the feet, which are thus burnt until the sinews shrink, and parts of the muscular system are completely destroyed.

Capital punishments are likewise executed in various ways. It appears to have been the custom with chiefs of former days to drown, or dash to pieces, those who were pronounced guilty of any very heinous crime. This mode of execution was performed by throwing the criminal from the very highest point of some tremendous and projecting precipice into the abyss beneath, where he either sank into the watery deep, or fell upon rocks and stones in the bed of the river. Several places have been pointed out to me where the celebrated chiefs Palo, Gagabi, Galeka, Khauta, and others, were in the habit of executing their subjects in this manner. It would seem also that delinquents were sometimes killed in the clefts of trees, which, being split at the upper extremities, and forcibly drawn asunder, were then allowed to close upon

the body, and with an awful crash to squeeze them to death.

This practice, however, together with that of throwing the convicts from precipices, appears to have sunk into disuse; hence such occurrences are now rarely if ever heard of. At present the following constitutes the most common punishments inflicted upon capital offenders: viz.—1. Stabbing. This is done with the spear, and is by far the most expeditious method employed by the Amaxosæ, in putting the sufferer out of his misery. Nevertheless he usually receives many wounds before his sufferings terminate, as they are seldom anxious to shorten them.—2. Stoning, or beating with clubs. I have known instances wherein both clubs and stones have been used in accomplishing the fatal deed, which, notwithstanding its tragical nature, is not unfrequently made matter of sport. The body is often shockingly bruised and wounded in every part before the head receives the deadly blow; this being left to the last, and until the executioners are tired of their work.—3. Burning. When this is the prisoner's doom, he is placed, bound, upon the fire, and there held until scorched in a dreadful manner. On being removed from the pile, heated stones, as above described, are laid upon the most tender parts of his body, and the whole system at length becomes one wound: his pains are excruciating, and his sufferings intolerable. In this state he is sometimes left to linger in agony indescribable, beyond all possibility of recovery. But generally, after protracting his tortures to the utmost of what nature is able to bear, they break his head with a bludgeon, and thus he expires.—4. Strangulation. Many cases of this description have occurred within the range of my own observation and knowledge. The culprit is taken to a distance from the hamlet, and made to sit down at the foot of a tree, with his back against it. Round his neck and the tree the executioner then puts a leathern thong, which is gradually drawn tighter and tighter, until the spirit is forced out of its clay tenement: after which the halter is fastened, and the corpse left just as it expired. In this position it usually remains until limb is torn from limb by wolves or eagles, which spread abroad the bones, and leave them whitening in the sun.

Horrible as are these penalties, and affecting as are the groans and cries occasioned by them, they are inflicted,

as the reader will already perceive, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, for crimes which are literally ideal; for evils that have no existence whatever, excepting in the deluded imaginations of the people. This will appear still more manifest from the following facts, which will at once exemplify and fully substantiate all that has hitherto been said upon the subject. It must, however, be observed that the circumstances which I am now about to state occurred on the very frontier, where some of the clans are happily beginning to be ashamed of such inhuman practices. Conscious that they are decidedly opposed to European views and feelings, they will rarely allow us to witness them; but should we surprise the multitude when actually engaged in the perpetration of these sanguinary deeds, they will seldom suffer our presence to prevent their accomplishment.

Mr. B., one day perceiving a sudden rush of the people, at the chief's hamlet, contiguous to his station, and being aware that they had assembled for some diabolical purpose or other, was induced, in company with two or three other individuals, to go to the place, in order to ascertain what they were about. But ere they reached the spot, the piercing shrieks of a female in distress were distinctly heard, and a scene soon presented itself which was shocking in the extreme. A poor woman had been mercilessly bound, and was then lying under the hands of her tormentors, encompassed by a callous-hearted crowd of spectators. These stood looking on with as much apparent interest as the ancient Romans felt when gazing upon the bloody fights of the gladiators, or upon the wild beasts, while tearing to pieces those who were unhappily doomed to be cast into their arena. A fire was burning before them; some were engaged in collecting fuel, others in heating large flat stones, and a third class in applying these stones to different parts of the sufferer's body. A price was humanely offered for the redemption of her life; but to this the savages would not listen. Her tortures were in various ways continued for several hours, after which they dragged her into the forest, where she quickly sank into the arms of death.

At another hamlet, thirty or forty miles from that just alluded to, a man and his wife were charged with having bewitched one of the subordinate chiefs. The former instantly fled, knowing that his life was in danger; his

wife and cattle, however, were immediately seized. The usual ceremonies then took place; after which the defenceless woman was bound with thongs, and seated upon a fire that had been kindled for the purpose. There she was held by a number of merciless wretches, until the flesh upon her legs, arms, and other parts was literally roasted, insomuch that it subsequently fell from the bones, leaving the latter quite bare. In this melancholy condition she was left to languish, or to die, under the eye of hovering vultures, and within the range of prowling hyenas,—without house, without food, and without any companion whatever, excepting a little daughter, who occasionally stole from the neighbouring village to take her a draught of water. Heart-rending indeed was her situation when discovered. Having lain several days, utterly unable to turn herself, her wounds were full of vermin, which were making rapid progress towards the vital part. After being removed, she was rendered as comfortable as her circumstances would admit; but her sufferings speedily terminated in death, from the idea of which she shrank with terror to the very last. Wretched as was the state of her body, its misery was infinitely surpassed by that of the mind, being dark as night.

On meeting with the Kaffer chief Botman one day, in the latter end of 1829, he very significantly accosted me, saying, "Pray can you tell me why it is that the Amaxosæ chiefs are dying so fast? S'Lhambi is dead; Dushani is dead; and now Gaika is dead. Enno is very ill, and I also am not well. Pray, what is it that is killing us all?" Upon these questions he laid more than ordinary emphasis, and proposed them in such a manner as rendered it manifest that the inquirer was not merely struggling between the love of life and a fear of death, but that he was now altogether doubtful as to the efficacy of those means which, from time immemorial, have constituted the sole reliance of his countrymen in times of trouble. In reply thereto, I endeavoured to point out in the plainest and most intelligible manner possible the real and natural causes of disease and death, at the same time showing what were the most probable causes of dissolution in all the three cases he had mentioned. The first of those chiefs went down to the grave full of years, and of course laden with the infirmities incident to age. The second fell a prey to disease occasioned

and fostered principally, if not wholly, by his own imprudence; and Gaika's end was undeniably hastened by vice and dissipation of the most gross description. And yet, shocking to relate, although these things were clear as noon-day, many human lives were wantonly sacrificed at the shrine of superstition, under charges of witchcraft.

The last-mentioned chief, who in his life-time had by such means sacrificed hundreds of his people, constituted, at the close of his pagan career, a most awful instance of the dreadful power of delusion: its influence seemed to grow stronger and stronger upon him, as he himself became weaker. When greatly reduced, and consciously sinking under the virulence of his disorder, he mustered, in the service of the powers of darkness, all the remaining strength he had, but would not listen to a single word respecting God or the eternal world. On hearing the name of Christ mentioned by Mr. C., who visited him just before he died, he instantly requested him to say no more upon that subject. Like the heathen kings of ancient days, "in his disease he sought not unto the Lord, but to his physicians,"—to the wizards and soothsayers; and to them only would he lend an ear. These were repeatedly assembled; and when able, he danced before them most immoderately, and ofttimes until completely exhausted, in the hope of thereby rendering their incantations effectual. As usual, their orgies terminated in deeds of blood. When he was at the very point of entering the regions of death, his own son, treading in the aged sire's steps, laid violent hands upon one of his father's most favourite wives, and without any ceremony whatever, or the least sign of compunction, deliberately killed her upon the spot. It will naturally be asked, Why? Because, having always been allowed, in consequence of his extraordinary attachment to her, the peculiar privilege of eating out of the same dish with her husband, it was supposed that she had used some evil enchantment, which was now proving fatal to his existence. This conclusion, formed on conjectural grounds only, was deemed abundantly sufficient to warrant her immediate execution. So precarious is the tenure of life where paganism is predominant. Facts of this appalling description render it indubitably evident, that although these African tribes do not professedly

erect their altars, and kindle their fires, in the name of Moloch; nor yet, like the Hindoos, cast the living wife upon the funeral pile of her dead husband; the same degenerate and devilish principle exists alike in all, and only requires established custom, and general usage, to bring it out in exactly the same way.

The young ruffian just mentioned, on a previous occasion, but with the very same kind of pretext, arrested one of his father's counsellors, and coolly murdered him in a manner almost too shocking to describe. To make sure of his victim, he repaired to the place of his residence at night, accompanied by several of his men, who were all armed with spears and bludgeons: having awakened and called the poor man out of his hut, he informed him that they were going in pursuit of a person who had injured the king, and that his assistance was immediately required. The summons was no sooner served than obeyed; for whatever suspicious fears the poor fellow might have in his own bosom, respecting the real design of the young chieftain and his troop, he dared not to manifest them. This done, they led him directly back to the place whence they came, and the following day accused him of having, in some way or other, unknown to any one but himself, exercised a baneful influence upon the health of Gaika. Hereupon he was arraigned before a savage tribunal, by which his death had been predetermined—because he was rich. His cattle were forthwith taken; his person scorched from head to foot: after which they tauntingly told him to look up at the sun, as it was the last time he would ever be permitted to see it. He was then led away to a neighbouring tree, made to sit down with his back against the trunk, and with a strong thong slowly strangled. How strikingly do these things demonstrate the truth and force of St. Paul's truly accurate description of the fallen children of men: "Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood: destruction and misery are in their ways: and the way of peace have they not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes!" Rom. iii. 13–18.

CHAPTER VIII.

Polygamy a source of many evils—Marriage ceremonies—Victims of superstition—Distressing situation of the dying—Customs respecting the dead—Chiefs interred in cattle-folds—Graves guarded—Change of ancient usages—An affecting scene—Death by Cobra de Capella—Mourning for the dead—Hard lot of the widow—Traces of Jewish rites—Cases of uncleanness—Sacrifices—Destructive effects of lightning—The Gospel intolerable to sorcerers—Issivivani.

Polygamy forms one of the grand barriers of paganism in almost every part of Africa, and in no part is it more freely allowed than in Caffraria. It ranks among the most formidable obstacles with which the gospel has to contend, and constitutes a prolific source of many other evils. We are informed that the Roman Catholic missionaries who were sent to the capital of Congo in the year 1490 were favourably received until they "proceeded to enforce upon their sable disciples the necessity of some moral restrictions in the matter of polygamy; the monarch in disgust then renounced a creed so intolerable, and returned with all his nobles to paganism."* By the chiefs this abominable practice is carried to an incredible extent. Independently of the great number of women whom they regularly acknowledge as wives, their concubinage is altogether unlimited; for whenever the Kaffer monarch hears of a young woman possessing more than ordinary beauty, and at all within his reach, he unceremoniously sends for her or fetches her himself; nor does any one dare to question the propriety of his conduct. Seldom or never does any young girl, residing in his immediate neighbourhood, escape defilement after attaining the age of puberty. Indeed, numbers of these poor children may often be seen about the habitations of the chiefs, where they are kept for the very basest of purposes. *Punthla*, or rape, is also one of the common abominations of the land, and is sometimes punished with a fine of two or three head of cattle, but more frequently escapes unnoticed.

* Modern Traveller, vol. iii. p. 21.

The ancient custom of espousing, or betrothing, almost universally prevails among the inland tribes, Boochuanas, &c., but it is by no means general among the Amaxosæ. I am not indeed acquainted with a single instance of the kind; but have, nevertheless, been told that this practice is adopted sometimes. The matrimonial bond, which, in Christian countries, is held so sacred, is here rendered a mere commercial contract; the women being invariably sold in marriage. The common price is from five to ten head of cattle; but the chiefs in procuring wives of high lineage are not unfrequently obliged to give five or six times that number. In all cases, however, as remarked by Barrow, "when an offer is made for the purchase of a daughter, she feels little inclination to refuse. She considers herself as an article in the market, and is neither surprised nor unhappy," apparently, "nor interested, on being told that she is about to be disposed of. There is no previous courtship, no exchange of fine sentiments, no nice feelings, nor little kind attentions, which catch the affections and attach the heart."

In the course of one of my missionary excursions, in the month of May, 1826, I came to a small hamlet, at which the natives were celebrating a marriage-feast. The head man of the *umzi*, who appeared to be near seventy years of age, was about adding another wife to the number he already possessed. Having made his proposals to the parents, and offered a price for their daughter, she was forthwith escorted to his place of residence by a number of friends and female relatives, decked and ornamented with beads, &c., according to custom, as a "bride adorned for her husband." On their arrival, however, the old man looked upon her with the greatest coolness and indifference, and in a grumbling tone of voice began to reckon up the number of excellent cattle he should be obliged to give if he retained her. After much hesitation and very grave deliberation upon the question, whether the woman was really worth so many oxen, he ordered a hut to be prepared for their reception. Nevertheless, she still remained under the care of her associates and guardians, who were obliged also to supply her with provisions until the marriage was finally determined.

When the man had fully resolved to take her, he ordered a beast to be slaughtered; by which circumstance

his intentions were announced. This was immediately reported, and the intelligence instantly sent off in every direction; so that all the little villages in the neighbourhood were apprized of it in the course of a few hours. An amusing scene soon followed: men, women, and children were seen moving towards the spot; some driving milch-cows, and others carrying milk-sacks, while numbers of young boys and girls trotted along laden with baskets and calabashes. As their feasting and mirth on such occasions are generally kept up for several days and nights successively, every one contributes in some way or other to the supply of provisions for the company. Meat boiled or broiled constitutes the grand dish; and this is provided by the bridegroom himself, who is always expected to furnish several beeves on the occasion, if able.

The bride remained cloistered during the whole time of their festivities, not being allowed to take any part in the ceremony, nor to appear in public at all until the conclusion. Dancing is one of their most favourite amusements, and is continued day and night without intermission. The men were arranged in rows one behind another; every individual in each row held his companion by the arm, and the whole chain consequently moved at once. All had long staves in their hands; these were held in a perpendicular position, giving to the whole body, when moving up and down, a very singular appearance. No musical instrument whatever was used; but a soft and monotonous air was sung by a party of women and men conjointly, in time to the movements of the dancers. The whole ceremony is performed in the open air, and the sound may be heard at a considerable distance.

On the last day of the feast more cattle are slaughtered; an ox-race then takes place from some neighbouring hamlet to that in which the people are assembled; and the bride emerges from her covert, loosely arrayed in a number of small detached deer-skins. Accompanied by two or three young women, she now proceeds to the bridegroom's cattle-fold, which she enters with much apparent caution, and with a spear in her right hand. On coming out again, she leaves the spear stuck in the ground at the *isangu*, or gate, where a few beads also are sometimes thrown to the concourse; and then proceeds to exhibit herself to the chief men, and

afterward to the women, who are seated in distinct parties, and in some conspicuous situation. These having made their remarks and observations upon her person, figure, &c., her head is covered, and she is forthwith led to the hut designed for her accommodation, until able to build one for herself. Thus is she formally placed among the number of wives, and publicly announced as mistress of a certain division of her husband's house, which she is enjoined to keep in a proper and orderly manner. At the marriages of persons of rank, the female is sometimes examined by the elders with disgusting minuteness, and until fully satisfied that she is free from all personal defects. After which she is harangued upon the subject of relative duties, and especially charged "to be meek and submissive when insulted; and to remain silent even though she be accused of witchcraft,—which is the greatest insult that can be offered, and is usually expressed by throwing ashes upon their heads."* I am very credibly informed that the nuptial ceremony is not unfrequently completed in the following very simple manner, viz.—a piece of broiled meat is dipped in a mess of milk belonging to the bridegroom; of this mess the bride partakes, eating the meat either all or in part, and drinking the milk thus presented by her intended, and that before all the guests; this done, the union is regarded as ratified to all intents and purposes.

Certain rules of consanguinity are observed, though not very scrupulously, excepting in particular cases. The following singular usage obtains universally, and is attended with the most deplorable consequences. All conjugal intercourse is entirely suspended from the time of accouchment until the child be completely weaned, which seldom takes place before it is able to run about. Hence, during the whole of that period, an illicit and clandestine intercourse with strangers is generally kept up by both parties, to the utter subversion of every thing like attachment and connubial happiness.

Something like affection is in some instances apparent for a while; but it is generally of comparatively short duration. This and other heathenish customs soon turn the wife into the drudge, and render her subject to the most cruel maltreatment that her savage

* Thompson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 355.

lord is able to inflict. There is indeed one check which she has upon him in this respect: if constrained by ill usage to take flight to her parents or former guardians (a circumstance of common occurrence), these will rarely if ever give her up again until he has paid to them a fine, proportioned to his crime and the respectability of her connexions. Were it not for this, and a fear of losing all his cattle in demands of this kind, there can be little doubt that the Kaffer would kill his wives for the most trivial offences. One thing, however, is worthy of remark: although established custom has obliged them to buy their wives, I never heard of an instance wherein the Kaffer sold his wife. He can cast her off and take another (if his possessions are sufficient) whenever he pleases, and that without incurring any censure or charge whatever. No one would say he had done wrong, as the legislators of the land do the very same continually.

Dushani, who had long laboured under the distressing effects of a certain disease, which is now lamentably prevalent, made application to one of his soothsayers for advice; upon which the latter informed him that his principal wife (who was of Tambookie origin) had, in some way or other, been the cause of his malady. Without any further inquiry, this otherwise sensible chief allowed himself to be at once duped by a blind and superstitious credulity, and peremptorily commanded her never more to call him husband, or appear in his presence again. He then rose from his seat, and in his fury declared that he would forthwith burn her habitation to the ground. But on hearing this, his eldest son, with a feeling rarely met with in Caffraria, stepped forward and addressed him, saying, "If my father is resolved to burn the work of my mother's hands, he shall burn me with it." This truly noble spirit had the effect of assuaging his wrath, and also of preserving the house, but not the mother.

When visited by sickness and the harbingers of death, the benighted mind of the Kaffer is distracted by dreadful apprehensions and tormenting fears; these, however, he carefully conceals, and can seldom be prevailed upon to give free expression to his feelings, even when consciously sinking in the very agonies of dissolution. Tears are regarded as the proof of an imbecile and unmanly spirit; hence, whatever pain he may endure, he

seldom suffers nature thereby to relieve herself. Nevertheless, the gross darkness that envelopes his soul is awfully manifest at this dread crisis.

No sooner do convulsive symptoms make their appearance than the dying are immediately declared to be dead; and are at once carried out into the forest, or laid in a ditch out of sight, and at a distance from the place of their residence. Two reasons are assigned for this inhuman measure; first, that the hamlet may not be defiled by the breathless body lying in it—and, secondly, that it may not be requisite for any one to touch the corpse after the spirit has departed. It is a fact, and to every thinking mind a heart-rending fact, that thousands are thus dragged from their habitations by their nearest relatives, and literally placed in "the region and shadow of death" while in the actual possession of all their rational faculties. Such is the melancholy situation of numbers at this very moment,—wholly destitute of every degree of comfort and of the faintest gleam of hope, regarding either this world or that which is to come. No friendly voice is heard cheering them amid the struggles of dissolving nature; no kindly helping hand is lent to turn them from side to side: nor have their sinking spirits any the least expectation of a deliverer. For alas! they know not that there is a Saviour. The moment the spark of life becomes extinct, and sometimes before, "ravening wolves around" feed upon their remains unmolested. In many parts of the country, by continually preying upon human flesh, these animals are rendered extraordinarily fierce and very dangerous. It would appear that "the bodies of infants are most commonly deposited in ant-hills that have been excavated by the *myrmecophagæ*, or ant-eaters;" and hence these also become an easy prey to the prowling beasts of the forest. An ingenious author has observed, "that the custom of burning the dead was universal till the practice, which had been adopted as the most prudent and convenient disposal of an unpleasant object, became a subject of ostentatious parade; and the funeral pile by its extravagance having at length exhausted the forests, necessity obliged them to have recourse to other means,—some to interment, and others to exposure in high places, to be devoured by crows and vultures. Had the Kaffers ever burned their dead in the country they now inhabit, they were under

no necessity of discontinuing the practice for want of fuel, being still immured in the midst of inexhaustible forests."*

Should it happen (which I believe is rarely if ever the case) that any one survives for the space of three or four days in the wretched state above described, they are then brought back to their habitation in the hope of recovery. I have heard of one or two instances of persons being thus restored to society twice or thrice; but their sickness still continuing, they were then shut up in their huts with a small quantity of provisions laid beside them; after which all around deserted the place, and left them to their fate. It is said that they buried their dead in former times; but this must have been many generations back: nevertheless, as the practice even now partially obtains among them, there is perhaps no just reason to doubt the correctness of the statement. In proof of their great anxiety to get their departed friends out of sight, my worthy friend the Rev. Mr. B. informed me that little doubt can be entertained of their having frequently buried them alive. One case of this description had come within the compass of his own knowledge. A woman whom they were actually putting in the grave had happily strength and sensibility sufficient at the moment earnestly to call for her mother: this circumstance prevented their procedure, and induced them to take her up again.

Excepting infants, the chiefs and their principal wives are the only persons who are at present privileged with the rites of sepulture; and this remark applies not only to the Amaxosæ, Amatembu, and Amaponeda, &c. along the coast, but to all the tribes with whom we are as yet acquainted. The place of burial is the cattle-fold; in which are the remains of the Kaffer monarch invariably deposited beneath the feet of his herd. The grave consists of a circular pit dug several feet deep, in one side of which is a recess or niche, sufficiently large to admit the corpse. This is sometimes placed in a sitting posture, and at others left standing. The armour, smoking apparatus, and various other articles which the deceased was in the habit of using, are all buried with him. A short time prior to the demise of the late chief Dushani, one or two excellent saddles were presented to

* Barrow.

him by gentlemen from the colony; and these also were put into his grave. Hence in this particular there is a remarkable affinity to the custom which obtains on similar occasions among the inhabitants of Madagascar, who at the burial of their late king Radama, filled up his tomb with clothes, armour, plate, and many other costly articles, constituting the personal property of his majesty.

The *ingubo*, or cloak, of the deceased is invariably thrown away or destroyed, being accounted unclean; his dwelling is denominated the house of the dead, and is regarded as being no longer habitable. Hence it is either for ever closed up, or immediately burnt to ashes. Even the beads and other ornaments that he wore must be purified and re-strung upon new thread before any other person can wear them. His herd is moved to another fold, and the old one is wholly deserted. The posts and branches of which it is constructed are left to decay upon the spot, no one daring to use a single stick for any purpose whatever. However much in want of fuel, they cannot be prevailed upon to burn the useless fence of the dead man's enclosure. So tenaciously do they adhere to their infatuated notions in this matter, that I have known instances of their positively refusing to eat a piece of meat, fond as they are of animal food, simply because it had been prepared upon a fire made of such materials.

As among the Soolimas, so also here, the grave of a chief is held sacred. By the tribes in the interior it is usually dug right under the fold-hedge, which is generally made of thorns or branches of the acacia giraffæ. These are of course easily removed; and the breach being repaired again, the fold is used as formerly. But by the Amaxosæ and Amatembu, &c., a distinct enclosure is not unfrequently made for the purpose; and after the place of sepulture has been covered up, two or three persons who have been employed as sextons are then appointed to keep and see that it is not disturbed either by man or beast. A certain number of cattle are now placed upon it; to the benefit of which these men are exclusively entitled. The milk and the increase are said to be at their disposal: but the original stock they are not allowed to touch, the animals of which it consists being hereby destined to live as long as nature and circumstances may permit; after which

their carcasses must be burnt and entirely consumed. The task of these keepers in some instances continues for years: during the whole of which period they are regarded by their neighbours and friends as "dwellers among the tombs." In course of time, however, they are relieved; upon which the spot is deserted, and the enclosure falls to the ground. Nevertheless the place is marked and well known throughout the tribe, and no one dares to commit any trespass upon it whatever. Several old graves have been pointed out to me at different times, and in different parts of the country; and I could not help remarking that the very brambles and bushes which have arisen upon them remain perfectly undisturbed, while even the grass itself is not suffered to be burnt or destroyed, although forty or fifty years, at least, must have elapsed since those Caffrarian rulers were consigned to their dusty beds. The warlike chief Gachabi, as has been already noticed, was slain by a party of the Amatembu, against whom he had proceeded with hostile and predatory intentions; but although his death took place at a considerable distance from home, and his body in all probability was devoured in the field, his mantle, ornaments, and remaining spears were all gathered up and carefully buried, and the place is called "Gachabi's grave" to this day.

At our missionary station we have happily succeeded in effecting a complete innovation upon this, as well as upon other parts of their pagan system. The dead are buried as decently as circumstances will permit, and that without any distinction, except as it regards the baptized and unbaptized. But the following case will show the difficulties attendant on our first attempts to produce such a change. Early in the morning of June 7th, 1826, a native came running to the mission-house with a message, stating, that the old warrior whom I had visited a day or two before was dead; and requesting to know what was to be done with the body, seeing I had enjoined upon the relations not to drag him into the forest. I immediately offered a reward to any one who would engage to go and dig a grave; but all were afraid: two of the workmen objected, saying, "We are too young to behold the corpse of one of S'Lhambi's great Amapakati;" another said, "I have already fled from my dwelling, that I might not hear the sound of the warrior's death; how then can I dig a hole for his

body ?" A fourth, upon my asking him only to take the pick-axe and spade to the place where the grave was to be made, hung his head, and appeared ready to weep. "The deceased," said he, "has been unto me a father: I must go to the river, and there wash myself, that the tidings of his dissolution may be carried away from me, and no longer stick to my person; but the place where he lies I dare not approach."

I at length prevailed upon one, who had long been charged with sorcery, to carry the implements to the spot, promising soon to follow him myself. Various circumstances, however, detained me longer than I had anticipated; and in the interval a second messenger arrived, desiring to know whether it was my intention to take medicine along with me. I was therefore induced to inquire what they wanted with medicine; and was not a little shocked to learn that it was required for the poor man whom they had already declared to be dead, and who would doubtless have been cast away had they not been aware of my coming. I instantly hurried off with all speed, taking with me some reviving cordials; but ere we reached his hamlet, which was several miles from Mount Coke, the spirit had indeed fled; and the emaciated body (which had been pierced entirely through with a musket-ball in 1819) was lying beneath the spreading branches of a small thorn-bush, where he had expired.

A more mournful and affecting sight I never beheld! While on my way, and yet at some distance from the scene, the voice of lamentation and wo struck upon my ear with piercing sound; and on our arrival three weeping widows were the first objects that arrested my attention. All around were silent as death, and the whole *umzi* seemed as if entirely deserted. The grave being dug, the next question was, "How is the corpse to be conveyed to it?" His own son started at the idea of touching it! Nevertheless, when they perceived that I was bent upon accomplishing the thing, and had taken hold of the body myself, they could no longer refuse to lend me a helping hand. The business was then closed with a short address; in which I endeavoured to impress upon the minds of my small but attentive audience the necessity of each being prepared for the last great change, of which all were hereby strikingly reminded.

Notwithstanding their prejudices, they afterward frankly acknowledged that it was much more pleasing and proper to bury the bones of their kindred and friends than to throw them to wild beasts. But I soon learned that there were other grounds of objection besides those assigned for their unwillingness to assist me on the occasion. The individuals whose aid I had obtained were actually banished from society for the space of several days, because they had laid hands on a dead body! In the event of death happening unexpectedly, and before the patient has been removed to the place of destination, a thong or cord, with a noose at one end, is then thrown round an arm or a leg, and in this horrid manner is the husband frequently seen dragging away his wife, and the parent his child, and *vice versa*, as if they were but the carcasses of dead dogs.

Just as I was about assembling the people for divine service one Sabbath-day morning (November 26th, 1826), intelligence reached us of the pitiable situation of a native female who resided about three miles off, and who had been bitten by an *impimpi* or *cobra de capello*. Having concluded my sermon, I hastened to her relief; which, however, was beyond all human power. I found a fine healthy and athletic young woman struggling in an agony of pain, which proceeded from the deadly wound she had received. The paroxysms were occasionally very great, and the means used did not appear to check the dreadful malady in the slightest degree. Hence all that we could do was to exhort her without a moment's delay to prepare for meeting her God. I felt more than pen or tongue can express while witnessing the sufferings and considering the state of this poor creature, who was evidently dropping into eternity in heathenish darkness! In the evening she expired; and as her exit took place earlier than was expected, and at a moment when those around her were paying little or no attention, she was not previously removed, but died in her habitation. I entreated her husband not to cast away her remains, and offered to lend him all necessary aid in the interment of them. He promised to comply with my request, and even fetched a spade for the purpose of digging the grave; but when the time arrived for commencing the task, his courage failed; and, although he appeared much attached to her, and more than usually distressed on account of her death, before we were

aware of his intention, he had dragged the corpse into a deep ravine hard-by, in the manner above described.

Connected, however, with their funeral rites, are certain set times and usages which are not unworthy of remark. They have their modes of mourning over deceased relations, which in some cases are attended with the most distressing consequences. When death has occurred in a village, all its inhabitants fast, abstaining even from a draught of milk the whole of that day, and sometimes longer. A man who has lost his wife is required by custom to fast for several days, and to withdraw himself from society for the space of two or three weeks; during which he wanders about in some solitary and desert spot, without either comfort or companions. He not only keeps at a distance from the dwellings of men, but casts away his only garment, which is henceforth accounted unclean. His daily subsistence is derived entirely from a precarious supply of roots or wild fruits, &c.

The widow's lot is harder still. On the death of her husband, she in like manner retires to the forest or the wilderness, where she is obliged to remain for a much longer period than custom requires of the man. Her means of subsistence are equally precarious; a little water from the brook, and a few bulbous or gramineous roots, generally constitute the whole of her supply of food. No one feels any concern about her, nor is any inquiry made as to whether the poor creature be living or dead. If she return, well; if not, her absence is treated as a matter of the utmost indifference. After wandering about in solitude for two or three days, she throws away her upper garment, which, as mentioned above, is henceforth deemed impure. She is now, of course, entirely exposed, without covering by day, or shelter at night. Having spent a few days more in this state, she cuts and lacerates different parts of her body with sharp stones, until the blood flows in streams. The numerous scars left by wounds made on those occasions have in several instances been repeatedly shown to me. The hut in which she dwelt with her deceased husband is then burnt; consequently she is obliged to erect a new habitation, or be dependent upon her friends for accommodation. When the days of her mourning are over, and the subsequent new moon makes its appearance, a number of cows or oxen (if the husband had any), pro-

portioned to the number of wives that he had, are slaughtered, and new garments made for each, from the hides of them. And this appears to be the only portion of his property that is awarded to them by law. Henceforward, unless a female of some rank, she hath no protector; she sinks under an intolerable burthen of drudgery, and is constantly constrained to be the servant of sin. How great and manifold are the horrors of paganism! And how great the contrast between its principles and those of Christianity! This by its benign influence meliorates the condition of the destitute, and gives special commands concerning the defenceless, "the widow and the fatherless;" but that systematically destroys them on the funeral pile, or leaves them to perish in want and wretchedness.

When S'Lhambi died, the people of his tribe, both men and women, great and small, shaved their heads; which is said to be a general practice at the death of a great chief. The inhabitants of his hamlet, together with those of the adjoining ones, appear to have fasted on that occasion until the third day; men, women, and children then proceeded in due form to the river for the purpose of purification, after which ceremony all were allowed to indulge in their favourite repast. His wives (ten), like those of the most common subject, were immediately obliged to conform to the general custom. Their garments and caps, &c. were all burned, their beads and other ornaments given away, and they themselves necessitated to repair to the wilderness in a state of comparative nakedness. The state of the weather, delicate health, or even an infant at the breast, are circumstances which have little or no weight on those occasions. The wife of a poor Kaffer who died near Mount Coke was thus compelled to go out into the forest with her baby but a few weeks old. The weather was extremely cold, in consequence of heavy rains; and having only a few roots to subsist upon, she was barely able to keep herself alive; her poor child, not having strength to endure so severe a trial, died in a day or two after her return to society.

As a late author has justly remarked, "many of their traditionary customs besides the rite of circumcision bear a striking resemblance to those of the Mosaic law, and seem strongly to corroborate Mr. Barrow's opinion, that they derived, however remotely, their lineage from

an Arabian origin. Some terms in their language also appear to point to a similar source. For example, the name of that beautiful animal the *springbok* (*antelope pygarga*) is *tzebe** in the Amaxosa tongue; and it is a curious fact that the very same word is used in Hebrew to denote an antelope of the same description, if not the precise species, erroneously rendered "roe" by our translators: "like a roe (*tzebe*), or young hart, upon the mountains of Bether."† It cannot but be observed, that many circumstances connected with their funeral rites bear a remarkable affinity to certain observances which were enjoined upon the ancient Israelites; unto whom it was said, "He that toucheth the dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days." Numbers xix. 11. And this, as far as I have been able to learn, is the precise view that the tribes in question take of the matter. It does not seem to be disgust, or a fear of the dead, which influences their conduct, so much as a dread of defilement; which dread, although equally felt, is nevertheless more easily conquered in the case of a chief, because custom, like the law of Moses, hath made the exception, "But for his kin that is near unto him, that is, for his mother, and for his father, and for his son, and for his daughter, and for his brother, and for his sister a virgin, that is nigh unto him, which hath had no husband, for her may he be defiled." Leviticus xxi. 2, 3. From hence it will appear that there is but this difference between the ancient law and Kaffer custom, viz. that the one makes the exception in favour of kindred, while the other allows such defilement on account of chiefs only. And in this we have a remarkable instance of the great difference that subsists between divine and heathen laws.

"And whosoever is defiled by the dead, both male and female, shall ye put out, without the camp shall ye put them." Numbers v. 2, 3. This, as I have already stated, was actually done to the men who were induced by reward to assist me in interring the old warrior. They were instantly banished from the society of relations and friends, and not permitted to return even to their own houses for the space of several days. The

* This is by no means the most common name. *Ibadi* is the one by which the animal in question is most generally known among the Kaffers.

† Pringle's notes

mode and time of purification are likewise worthy of remark: "He shall purify himself on the third day, and on the seventh day he shall be clean." Numbers xix. 12. And from the 17th verse of the same chapter we learn, that "running water" was required to be used in purification. The general purification of the people at the old chief S'Lhambi's hamlet did not take place, as we have already observed, until the third day after his death; and I believe the ceremony of cleansing is invariably performed at the river. "This is the law, when a man dieth in a tent, all that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days." Verse 14. And because of its uncleanness, the Kaffer hut, under similar circumstances, is considered altogether uninhabitable, and therefore forsaken or burnt. Their practice of cutting or tearing themselves, and of shaving, or "making baldness upon their heads," in token of grief and lamentation, are heathenish customs of great antiquity, as appears from Deut. xiv. 1; Jerem. xvi. 6; Lev. xxi. 5. In cases of leprosy also (of which there are considerable numbers in various parts of Southern Africa), the individual afflicted with it is invariably banished from society, and that for ever, as they have no remedy whatever for this disease. Hence the unhappy sufferers, from the very moment it is discovered, have no other earthly prospect than that of wandering about in the desert, as outcasts from the human family during the residue of their days; or of gradually sinking in dens and caverns under the pressure of want, and the consuming power of their loathsome malady; which, in some instances that we have had occasion to witness, had literally eaten off their toes, in others their fingers; and in others deprived them of the use of their limbs altogether. "He is unclean; he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be." Leviticus xiii. 46.

But it is not only in matters pertaining to these and to the dead that Caffrarian manners resemble those of the ancient people above mentioned. Some of their domestic usages also are far from being dissimilar. The birth of a son or daughter is invariably regarded as rendering the mother unclean for a certain period; during which she is kept in a state of entire separation. "If a woman have conceived seed, and borne a man child, then she shall be unclean seven days; according to the days of the separation for her infirmity shall she be unclean."

Lev. xii. 2. This appears to be precisely the case with the Kaffer female, who under similar circumstances is shut up and concealed from the view even of her husband for the space of several days after the delivery. Her person must be washed repeatedly every day; separate cooking utensils and a separate milk-sack must be provided for her; and the mat used during the time of her accouchement, together with the gramineous platter from which she ate, must be afterward thrown away or destroyed on account of their impurity. The confinement of women of rank is usually continued much longer than that of the poorer classes, and is also attended with much more ceremony. The husband is uniformly required to slaughter a beast at the birth of a child; and, until he has done this, general custom does not admit of his entering the house. He is then suffered to see the infant, but not to take hold of it; nor can he eat out of the same vessel with his wife for many months afterward.

Something like sacrifice likewise, and expiatory offerings, may perhaps be traced in their ceremonies on certain occasions. It is indeed said, "that they sometimes sacrifice to the rivers in seasons of drought, by killing an ox and throwing part of it into the channel." Moreover, "if a person is accidentally killed by an elephant, it is customary to offer a sacrifice, apparently to appease the demon that is supposed to have actuated the animal; and if any one kill, by accident, a *mahæm* (balearic crane), or one of those birds which the colonists call *brom-vogel* a species of tucan, he is obliged to sacrifice a calf, or young ox, in atonement. Some imagine that a spirit (*shuluga*) resides in a particular ox, and therefore propitiate it by prayers when going on their hunting expeditions. Their idea of thunder is, that it proceeds from the direct operation of the Deity; and if a person is killed by lightning, they say that God (*Uhlanga*), has been among them. On such occasions they not unfrequently remove their residence from the spot, and offer a heifer or an ox in sacrifice. If cattle are struck dead by lightning, they are carefully buried."*

* I have never had an opportunity of seeing any of those sacrifices actually offered: nor am I inclined to think that they are of frequent occurrence. Nevertheless, as the account (appended to Thompson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 352, 353) from which I have made the above extract, appears to proceed from my well-known friend

On visiting the young chief at Isibonga, in November, 1826, I was much struck, when entering the hamlet, with an unusual stillness, which indicated something extraordinary. Dushani himself was sitting on the ground, near one of his cattle-folds, attended only by a small number of his counsellors. Sadness sat upon every countenance, and all were evidently labouring under the depressive influence of superstitious fear. Upon inquiring into the cause, I was told that a star (meaning the lightning) had fallen a day or two previously, and killed one of the finest oxen belonging to the chief. This event had filled every mind with consternation and dread, and the village was accounted wholly unclean. It further appeared, that, in consequence of this, none of the inhabitants deemed themselves at liberty to go beyond the precincts of the hamlet until after the expiration of such a time; and the native strangers who came in were required to pay a certain tribute before they could be suffered to lodge in any of the houses. As I was a foreigner, and a white man, and expected of course to have a present in my hand, no demand of this kind was made upon me. No man dares to eat the flesh of an animal killed in this way; and hence, agreeably to the above statement, the carcass of the beast had been "carefully buried" by one of the sorcerers with much parade and ceremony.

Accidents of this nature happen much more frequently upon the sandy and sun-burnt plains of the interior, where the forked flash ofttimes sweeps along in a most terrific manner, rending trees, and killing men or cattle, in almost every storm. When among the Batclapes, in 1821, I saw several trees, of the *acacia giraffæ* species, that had been completely cleft asunder. Upon one of this description, which stood in a very conspicuous situation, the electric flame appeared to have played most sublimely. One of its principal boughs was entirely severed from the trunk, and literally torn to atoms. The occurrence occasioned much alarm among the surrounding inhabitants, who from hence seemed to infer that *Moreemo* (God) was extremely angry with them. The morning after it took place, the wizards and wise men were called and consulted as to the best

and fellow-missionary, the Rev. J. Brownlee, of the London Society, his veracity and long residence among the Kaffers render me confident that he had sufficient grounds for the circumstances he states.

mode of appeasing his wrath, all being afraid that if this were not done speedily, he would give them no more rain; in which case their ripening crops must inevitably perish. The sable multitude were forthwith convened, and led in martial order to the foot of the tree. After performing many preparatory and singular manœuvres, the wise men took a quantity of herbaceous roots, that had been gathered for the purpose, and with these bound up the shivered part, as carefully as if it had been a fractured bone. This done, they climbed up to its extremities, and from thence poured water upon the wounded trunk. A fire was then kindled at the root, and a dense column of smoke sent up to the skies: this filled the air with a fragrant smell, which arose from the peculiar kind of fuel used on the occasion. The whole was finally concluded with a most hideous howl; at which moment every one pointed his spear upwards, and cried, "*Poola, poola, poola.*" (Rain, rain, rain.) Such are the only blessings for which these heathen multitudes pray; and such the only prayers they ever offer! They deprecate the curse of heaven; but confide in an "arm of flesh" for help. When their fields are burnt up, and the bellowing herds can no longer obtain food; or when their corn-lands are parched, and the hope of bread is cut off; even then is their trust put wholly in man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and who, after using every vile and delusive art that Apollyon himself can suggest, leaves them confessedly hopeless and sitting in the dust! The following circumstances will render this truly lamentable fact indubitably evident.

In the course of a few months afterward, and at the same place, I had an opportunity of witnessing the arrival of a celebrated rain-maker, whom the chief had called from a remote part of the interior, on account of the extremely dry state of the country. When about half a day's journey distant, he very formally sent forward a harbinger to announce his approach, and to order all the inhabitants of the town immediately to wash their feet, and cleanse themselves in pure water. Accordingly every one repaired to the river without a moment's delay; so that its banks were quickly crowded. A little after four, P.M. the impostor was ushered in by the concourse, amid clamorous shouts, and with singing and dancing. Having observed the clouds gathering, and the wind becoming variable in the pre-

ceding part of the day, he ventured to prognosticate a fall of rain in the evening. This indeed happened accordingly, and was accompanied with terrific thunder and lightning; all which was instantly put down to the credit of his magical powers, and served as an occasion of insult for those around us, who tauntingly cried, "Do you now see what he is able to do?"

The storm, however, was soon over, and the showers consequently subsided without effecting the change so anxiously desired. The drought continuing to be as oppressive as ever, the rain-maker was, of course, again and again called upon for relief; but in vain. Hearing a loud noise one morning before sunrise, I was induced to get up and inquire into the cause; when it appeared that a proclamation had just been issued, forbidding every woman to take either pick-axe or seed-bag,—to dig, or to plant, during the day; lest the lowering clouds should be thereby driven away! All were required to employ themselves in collecting for the rain-maker certain roots, or in fetching him wood, to light up his mysterious fires. About ten o'clock, A.M., a numerous procession entered the town: hundreds of voices were engaged in full chorus as it proceeded; and a still greater number of heads were covered with large bundles of wood and herbs. While the females were thus exerting themselves, the men were all assembled in council with imposing solemnity.

At length an ox was selected from the king's herd; and, after its legs had been well washed, like the scapegoat of old, this animal was driven off into the wilderness, and there apparently left to go wherever instinct or inclination might lead it. This done, the sorcerer proceeded to the hills, attended by a formidable-looking train. There, on the summit of one, and then on the pinnacle of another, he vainly kindled his fires, and raised dense columns of smoke, while the chief and his people were crying with loud voices, and in a suppliant tone, "*Poola*, *poola*, *poola*." But alas! all their ceremonies were just as ineffectual as those of the idolatrous tribes on the heights of Carmel, where the priests of Baal, and the prophets of the groves, assembled in the days of Elijah. No rain fell, but all appearance of it entirely subsided, and a blazing sun chased every cloud away. Then, amusing enough, the pretender, finding that he had carried his cheat to its utmost length,

and that both chiefs and people were getting angry in consequence of repeated disappointment, contrived to soften down their wrath until prepared to take flight, by a representation of his failure as being occasioned by the following circumstances: viz., 1. He charged them with not having paid him sufficiently, although either the king or his captains had been making him presents almost every day. 2. He urged as a principal reason, that they had other prophets among them (alluding to the missionaries) who had brought into the land a strange word, with which their forefathers were totally unacquainted. And, 3. That there was a white man among them, whose long black beard frightened the clouds away!

It is almost superfluous to add, that these men are our inveterate enemies, and uniformly oppose the introduction of Christianity among their countrymen to the utmost of their power. Like the angekoks of the Greenlanders, the pawaws of the Indians, and the greegrees of Western Africa, they constitute the very pillars of Satan's kingdom in all places where they are found. By them is his throne supported, and the people kept in bondage. When these therefore are confounded, and constrained to fly, we cannot but rejoice; for then indeed have we demonstrative evidence that the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power. Even their rage itself is cheering proof of the tottering state of their fabulous and fraudulent system; but the manner in which their efforts to uphold it have been less or more foiled in every place where the Gospel has been established, furnishes facts of the most encouraging nature. In several instances within the compass of my own knowledge, they have actually fled out of the vicinage of the institutions, and fixed their residences beyond the reach of missionary influence, in places overspread with thick clouds and black darkness alone. Moreover, some of the chiefs themselves, although still dreadfully shackled, are happily beginning to be ashamed of their adherence to such fellows, and to acknowledge that the very best of them are but as "broken reeds," or as a staff which, when a man leaneth thereon, pierceth him through.

Soon after the commencement of the Wesleyville station one of these Kaffer priests was called into the neighbourhood by the chiefs, for the professed purpose of making rain. On his arrival, Mr. S. availed himself of

the opportunity of confronting him upon the spot, and of exposing the fallacy of his pretensions before both chiefs and people. A set time was appointed, and the case publicly argued at considerable length, when the whole resulted in the utter confusion of the impostor; and the chiefs themselves were constrained to confess that their expectations had been founded in very foolishness. I am not aware of their having ever called in the aid of a rain-maker since; which, of course, affords the best possible proof that their conviction upon this subject is well grounded. Shortly after I had commenced my labours at Mount Coke, the parched state of a neighbouring district was ascribed by one of those deceivers to our erection of European houses, the appearance of which, he said, "dispersed the clouds, and prevented the rains from falling!" But, unfortunately for his craft, while he was performing his heathenish orgies, the clouds were discharging their fertilizing contents upon the very spot where we were building; which circumstance, on becoming generally known, did his reputation as a soothsayer no small harm. I cannot close my remarks upon this head without adding the following striking fact, which occurred in the course of December, 1826. Not far from the residence of my missionary neighbour, Mr. B., a considerable assemblage of natives was convened with the view of causing rain. On hearing of this, he and his assistant went to the place, and remonstrated with them respecting the folly of such a mode of proceeding. With this the wizard became exceedingly angry, and declared before all the people, that there now would be no more rain, because the missionaries had entirely driven it away! Nevertheless the latter continued to admonish them no longer to hearken to such lying impostors, but immediately to renounce the vain practices of their pagan system, and by prayer and supplication make known their wants unto Almighty God, from whom alone cometh both the "the early and the latter rain." On the Sabbath-day following, Mr. B.'s temporary place of worship was unusually crowded during the hours of divine service; and, to the great astonishment of the people, and confusion of their leader, it pleased Divine Providence to send them fine and copious showers that very evening.

In various parts of Caffraria, and, according to the accounts given by the Amafengu, in the still more dis-

tant regions likewise, are found large stone heaps; to which the natives attach a kind of sacred character, and which by the Kaffers are called the *issivivani*. They consist simply of round piles of small stones, thrown loosely together, and are generally met with on the sides or upon the summits of mountains. Their size, of course, varies according to circumstances; but their form is always the same, obviously unstudied and devoid of all art. They are invariably erected within a few paces of the path. Every passenger regards it as a duty incumbent upon him to add another stone to the number, or otherwise a green branch taken from one of the neighbouring trees for the purpose. While engaged in this act, he prays that his journey may be prosperous; that he may have strength to accomplish it; and that he may obtain an abundant supply of food on the way. This constitutes the great object of his petition; in concluding which he spits upon the article held in his hand, casts it upon the heap, and then proceeds. Should he on any occasion pass one of those rustic piles without attending to every punctilio of this pagan ceremony, and subsequently fail in his pursuit, or become weak and sickly on the path, such ills are immediately ascribed to his negligence at the *issivivani*, over which he mourns and bitterly grieves. With regard to the origin of this custom, the oldest men among them are unable to give us any satisfactory information. Heaps of a somewhat similar construction were formerly raised by the Hottentots, over the graves of their deceased relations; but this is not the occasion in the case before us. Whether therefore it may not be a relic of some system of idolatry that existed among their forefathers, or the remains only of a kind of patriarchal mode of making vows, are questions which may perhaps afford subject matter for speculation. The sight of these rude monuments has frequently brought to my mind the pious conduct of the patriarch, who, when on his journey to Padan-Aram, "took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace; then shall the Lord be my God: and this stone which I have set for a pillar shall be God's house." Gen. xxviii. 18–22.

But, alas! no pillar is here set up in the name of the Lord: nor do the supplications of the Kaffer appear to be directed to any thing beyond the unsightly heap itself. Some indeed have contended, that he is in reality hereby addressing the Divine Being; and it is an easy matter to suppose this: but when we ask him the question, his answer does not by any means support such a conjecture. I am inclined to regard the declarations of the pious part of the natives as forming by far the best criterions whereby to determine points of this nature: and on consulting one of these upon this and various other subjects, he very feelingly replied, saying "Until enlightened by the grace of God, my prayers were made to the stones only, as are those of thousands of my countrymen at this very moment." This affecting fact forcibly carries us back as it were to a view of the ancient Britons, at the time when Thor and Woden were their gods, and when these were the objects of homage among our ancestors.

CHAPTER IX.

War common—Preparations for battle—Feudal system everywhere prevalent—Boochuana army—Shot a rhinoceros—Voracity of the warriors—Encampment—Providential escape from lions—Arrival at the Marootze capital—Description of the town—War council—Numbers killed—Interview with the king—Lamentation for the slain—Moral condition of the people.

Every page of African history renders it abundantly evident, that misery and destruction are in all the ways of fallen man; and that to him the way of peace is altogether unknown. As in the western so also in the southern division of this dark continent, its numerous tribes and clans are continually feeding the vengeful flame. By predatory incursions alone, Caffraria has often been made a field of blood. Other causes indeed there are, from which strife, contention, and bloodshed have arisen; but in nine cases out of ten, at least, the native troops are mustered either to pillage their weaker neighbours, or to retaliate upon some thievish aggressor.

The wars, that were, for many years, kept up between

old S'Lhambi, and his nephew Gaika, will, in all probability, ever form a prominent part of Kaffer history, as their battles were fought within a comparatively short distance from our boundaries. A view of either of these men in certain situations would probably excite our admiration, as the one possessed no small share of shrewdness and natural talent, while the other was more than ordinarily intrepid and courageous. But, as it has been very justly observed, "in our admiration of some of the bold and peculiar features of an uncivilized people, we are apt to lose sight of their vices, and give them credit for virtues which they do not possess." This remark is peculiarly applicable to the chieftains; who, instead of being as some travellers have represented them, "of an open and generous character, disdaining, in their wars and negotiations, any sort of chicane or deceit," are in truth men whose depraved minds and schemes generally evince the very opposite of "natural rectitude." No bond is too sacred for a chief to break; no tie, relative, social, or political, sufficient to withstand his cupidity.

It is worthy of remark, however, that they seldom engage in any warlike expedition with that precipitancy which might be expected from savages. Between the period of receiving and avenging any wrong, time is usually allowed for malignity to assume its blackest hue, their deliberations in such matters being generally very tardy. Days and weeks, and sometimes months, are spent in conferring upon all the different bearings of the case. In the event, for instance, of a challenge being given by one clan to another, or of any infringement of the rights of a chief by his neighbour, messengers are sent backward and forward, to ascertain why or wherefore such steps have been taken, or upon what grounds hostilities are contemplated. Should the challenge be withdrawn, or the injury satisfactorily repaired, the breach is made up, a token of peace is exchanged, and friendship restored. But if, on the other hand, the offending party continue to menace, or the offended feel confident of being more than a match for the adversary, their forces are speedily mustered, and every man comes to the standard armed with spears, with lance and shield. The whole affair in all its minutiæ is then proclaimed to the marshalled host with spirit-rousing eloquence, and in language the most hyperbolical. Not only are

the sable troops made acquainted with their duty, but inspired with feelings the most revengeful towards the enemy. They almost always consult their soothsayers on these occasions, and are by them assured of victory; after which, with waving plumes upon their heads, and sharpened weapons in their hands, they start from their seats, raise the fell whoop, and forthwith proceed to the field, loudly cheering and applauding their respective commanders.

Among the Boochuana and more northern tribes, which are beyond the reach of colonial influence, this feudal system prevails almost perpetually. As I had repeated opportunities, on one of my missionary tours, of witnessing it in full operation, the system itself, together with some of its melancholy effects, will perhaps be best illustrated in a few extracts from my Journal. In order, as much as possible, to be prepared for attack, the population of the interior is in a great measure concentrated in towns, which are in many instances built on the very summits of mountains, commanding an extensive prospect every way. Immense tracts are consequently left wholly unoccupied, except by wandering Bushmen, who lurk among the trees, and depend entirely upon the chase for subsistence.

Several days were spent in travelling over uninhabited wastes of this description, where nothing save the ostrich* and the gazelle appeared to enliven the scene

* It has been thought that after depositing its eggs in the sand, this remarkable bird generally leaves them to be hatched by the genial rays of the sun; but the following facts will show the erroneousness of such an opinion, although maintained by some who have confidently assumed the character of historians.

"On approaching the nest," says the Rev. S. Broadbent, "we saw the female ostrich sitting upon it; and though she had been disturbed before by the Hottentot, she remained till we were very near, and then ran off at the report of two guns which were fired. The ground was sandy for several miles round, and covered with thinly-scattered bushes. There lay a great number of loose ostrich feathers about the nest, which appeared to have come off the female while sitting, and she had the naked appearance which domestic fowls have at such times.

"The eggs were forty-two in number, including two which had been taken away; and were arranged with great apparent exactness. Sixteen were close together in the middle of the nest; and on these the ostrich was sitting when we arrived; they were as many as she could cover. The remaining twenty-six were placed very uniformly in a circle, about three or four feet from those in the middle. The eggs which were in the circle we found to be quite fresh, at which I

and our stock of provisions at length began to fail. This, however, was soon replenished, as one of my native guides succeeded in shooting two camelopards that happened to be grazing, along with three others, near the place of our encampment. The first principal town we came to, after leaving Lattakoo, was Meribawhey, inhabited by the Tammaha. This tribe, which is said to have been both numerous and powerful, and deservedly celebrated for its bravery, was now reduced to a few hundreds, and proverbially poor. I was greatly surprised, however, to find among their stock a fine flock of goats, as scarcely any of the black tribes possess animals of this description. Not many miles from the town, was a natural salt-pan of considerable dimensions, containing a vast quantity of that valuable material. This the natives seldom use as a dietetic ingredient, nor indeed for any important purpose whatever.

Just as we entered, a number of messengers arrived from Bamuarimosana, with tidings from their chief, that a plundering party of Tammahas had fallen upon and robbed some of his people. He had therefore sent his men to demand redress. But it was not until the second day after the report had been heard, that any thing like full inquiry was instituted. The council was then assembled *ex officio*, and the case argued at full length. In the course of the evidence it appeared, that one of the ringleaders in this affair was sick, and confined to his hut. Thither the council immediately pro-

expressed my surprise. The Hottentots informed me that these had been provided by the ostrich against the hatching of those in the middle; when she would break them, one after another, and give them to her young ones for food; and that by the time they were all disposed of in this manner, the young ostriches would be able to go abroad with their mother, and provide for themselves such things as the desert afforded. This fact affords as fine an instance of animal instinct, and as striking an illustration of a superintending Providence, as perhaps the whole circle of natural history is capable of furnishing.

"During the time that we continued beside the nest, which must have been near an hour,—for the Hottentots kindled a fire, and broiled some of the eggs,—the ostrich remained at a short distance, looking towards us; and there we left her. The eggs weighed three pounds each and measured seventeen inches in circumference. We took the greater part of the fresh ones. Seven were as many as I could conveniently carry. One of the Hottentots ingeniously contrived to carry a greater number, by pulling off his trousers, tying up one end, and filling them with eggs."

ceeded; and, stimulated by curiosity, I ventured to follow them, accompanied by my interpreter. No one dared to enter the house, as it was counted unclean, "because the habitation of a sick man." For this reason I was not allowed even to look over the fence; on the outside of which the elders all sat while questioning the delinquent. At this place I spent one Sabbath; preached morning and evening, and visited the natives from hut to hut in the afternoon. This method will I believe be generally found most successful. While standing at a distance, the people listen to and gaze upon us with consternation, and a degree of suspicious fear. But our entering their habitations, asking for a little water, partaking with them of a draught of milk, fearlessly sitting down among and conversing with them, at once arrests their attention, fortifies their minds, and often disarms them of hostile intentions. They are hereby effectually convinced that we neither design them harm, or suspect them of any evil.

The following day brought us to Mashow, where we arrived a little before sunset. The country between those two places, being well wooded, presented a park-like appearance; and the soil in some of the vales seemed to be exceedingly rich; but very little good water was to be found. Drought generally prevailed, the climate being oppressively hot, and the rains in the best of seasons very irregular. Such indeed was the parched state of the ground at that time that deep fissures were everywhere seen. Nevertheless, crowds of native females were busily employed in preparing their little gardens along the sides of the surrounding hills. The novel appearance of a white man soon brought them all down; and very few minutes elapsed before hundreds of men, women, and children completely encircled me. The report rapidly flew to every part of the town, and swarms of human beings poured out of the numerous huts on every side, until the sun had fully set, when they all again retired.

In the course of the evening we were visited by a young chieftain belonging to the Marootze tribe; who at once informed us that the object of his errand to Mashow was to solicit the aid of its warriors against the Boquains; he therefore requested us to halt until he also was fully prepared for proceeding. He feared to journey until the moon (then new) had attained a

certain age, partly on account of the numerous lions that infested the country; but principally because such a step would be regarded as endangering the success of their project. From hence it was evident that hostilities were kindling before us; but having resolved on preaching the gospel to as many of the tribes as were at all within reach, I at length determined to wait until the way was quite clear.

Scarcely had day begun to dawn the following morning before multitudes flocked to the place of our encampment; and while at breakfast another chieftain of considerable influence, and from a distance, came pressing through the throng with a numerous train of attendants at his heels. Each was armed with spears; and several of them with battle-axes also, which gave them a somewhat formidable appearance. Having a crust of bread in my hand, I presented him with part of it: this seemed greatly to please both him and his counsellors, with whom he very good-naturedly shared the morsel, reserving but a crumb for himself. He was a fine, tall, athletic young man, of more than ordinarily deep, artful, and intriguing mind. He evinced great curiosity, and examined my person, clothes, &c., with the utmost minuteness.

After leading me into conversation, he very pointedly asked if I had come to avenge the death of "that white man and his companions," who visited their country many years ago. The question instantly brought to my recollection an expedition which went from the colony under the direction of Dr. C., a military surgeon, and which never lived to return. I was induced therefore to inquire whether he knew any thing respecting it; upon which, after some little hesitation, he replied in the affirmative, and then proceeded to give me an account that made me shudder, and filled my sable comrades with fear. He declared that they were all massacred by order of his father, the chief of a powerful and warlike tribe, living along the base of a chain of mountains, to which he pointed while giving us the information.

According to his statement, the travellers on arriving at his father's residence were kindly received, and directed to unyoke their oxen in the king's cattle-fold. They remained there for some days, and all appeared to go on peaceably until they began to talk of journeying to the eastward. "Then," said he, "my father desired

various things, which the visiters refused to give." This, coupled with some other circumstances, not very creditable to the party, induced the old savage to determine on making himself master of all they possessed. A plot was therefore laid, and secret orders issued to his subordinates, who were required to assemble at a certain time for the purpose of executing his barbarous design. Each was instructed in the part he was to act, and to watch for an opportunity when their victims were sufficiently off their guard at a distance from their arms. This opportunity at length occurred; and with the terrific air of a savage, whose sparkling eyes seemed to express the very climax of a horrid achievement, he exclaimed, "We stabbed them! we stabbed them!" He then stated that if I would accompany him into his father's dominions, he would show me some of the musket-barrels belonging to the company, together with a quantity of the iron-work of their wagons, of which the wood-work was all burnt. On making inquiry subsequently, we learnt, that this ambitious youth was at enmity with his father, and anxious to wrest from him the reins of government. This circumstance fully accounted for his free developement of the whole affair; and he, in all probability, expected hereby to induce us to lend him assistance against his aged parent. How far therefore his statements were to be depended upon, is of course hard to say.

During our stay at Mashow my perambulations led me into different parts of the town; and I could not but admire the superior cleanliness, taste, and genius of the people. In their domestic economy, as well as in the structure of their dwellings, they are greatly in advance of the more southern tribes. In one of the lower cantons, I met with an albino, whose appearance and skeleton-like form were ghastly beyond description. Her eyes were perfectly red, and her hair of a sandy complexion, but curly like that of the natives in general. Her parents were both quite black; and the father informed me, that he had a son likewise whose colour (white) and complexion were exactly similar, excepting in the eyes. She was evidently an object of great contempt among all around; and so completely neglected that she was literally perishing for want of food. One of my native guides offered to take her home with him; to which the parents unhesitatingly consented, on con-

dition that he would present them with a sheep. This was done; and the poor girl, finding that she was likely to be much better fed, evinced as little regret in leaving them, as they did in parting with her.

Early the following morning all were actively engaged in warlike preparations; and about ten o'clock, A.M., the sable troops commenced their march with the two young chieftains and the Morolong king at their head. The latter proceeded on foot, as did the whole of his warriors, without any other provision for the journey than what might be borne in the hand. Having to travel in the same direction, I was enabled to observe all their movements; and when the whole army had come together, the scene was at once novel and imposing. Our route lay over a fine tract of country thickly studded with clumps of trees of the *acacia giraffe* species, which rendered the aspect highly picturesque.

In the left hand each warrior bore his shield and spears; and in the right, a battle-axe; which with the bow and quiver (full of poisoned arrows) constituted his panoply entire. Round his loins was worn a peculiar kind of girdle; on the head a tuft of white hair, or a plume of ostrich feathers; and on the feet a pair of leathern sandals, which completed his costume. All being dependent upon the chase for food, no kind of game whatever made its appearance without producing a simultaneous shout; upon which every one bounded across the plains with the lightness and celerity of a hart; so that the panting and closely-pursued victim was speedily brought to the ground. It was then unceremoniously quartered, and borne away on the backs of pack-oxen; a number of which were driven along by followers of the army for this purpose expressly.

We had not journeyed many hours before one of the Hottentots shot a rhinoceros, from which an abundant supply of meat for many days was expected. No sooner, however, did the huge animal drop, than a band of the hungry warriors, like so many eagles, gathered round it. Every one threw aside his mantle; and in a state of perfect nudity began butchering for himself, conceiving that he was fully entitled to every piece he might be able to cut off; consequently very few minutes elapsed before this prodigious creature was completely dissected, and nothing but bones and dung left upon the spot. Such a scramble I never before witnessed; all

wrought, as if for life, until the very last bit had been carried off. The moment the slaughter commenced, large fires were kindled, and steak upon steak thrown upon them while the flesh still quivered with life. In their eagerness to secure as large a portion as possible, several received severe wounds from the spears of their fellows; but for all this, the prey obtained in the scuffle seemed to be considered a sufficient compensation.

They now prepared for encampment and a feast; their companions in advance, and the object of their expedition, were alike forgotten. The meat was all hung up in trees, numbers of which were decorated with slices of no ordinary size. Some went out in search of fuel, while others cut down branches, and erected small circular enclosures, which served as their lodging-places for the night. In each of these were gathered together ten, fifteen, or twenty individuals; who, after allaying the cravings of hunger, lay down to sleep, without indulging a thought beyond the moment: their darkly-shrouded figures formed the radii to a circle whose centre was the fire. And although conscious that they were surrounded by beasts of prey, to which their stores of meat would naturally form an attractive bait, no one deemed it necessary to keep watch at all: wolves howled, and the lion repeatedly roared, but all seemed to enjoy their slumbers undisturbed.

Their indifference regarding these animals is truly astonishing; and the more so as the lion often makes dreadful havoc among them. It was but a few weeks previously that one of the natives had been literally torn to pieces: and when we were about fording a small rivulet the following day, no less than six (two old and four young ones) rushed forth from among the reeds on its bank, within twenty or thirty yards of us. The creatures were apparently startled, and therefore ran off, so that no one was hurt. While on my way to a Boochuana hamlet, in company with Mr. ——, four or five weeks before, Divine Providence interposed and saved us under circumstances still more remarkable. Having to cross an extensive plain, and being unable to reach our destination before night, we strayed and got entangled among the trees. One of the wheels of our wagon, coming in contact with a broken stump, was completely thrown off, and down came the carriage to the ground. The extreme darkness of the night rendered

all search for the linch-pin fruitless; and obliged us to contrive a substitute of wood. We had not, however, moved many paces before this broke, and off went the wheel again. The strength, therefore, of all present was immediately put in requisition to raise the wagon a second time: but at this critical moment the paralyzing roar of a lion assailed our ears, and a conviction that he was at no great distance put an end to all effort for some seconds. Our situation now may be more easily conceived than described: the bare recollection of it produces an involuntary shudder.

Mrs. K. and our eldest boy being both in the wagon at the time, my anxiety for a few minutes was such as I never experienced, either before or since. Being wholly unable to see the beast, it was, of course, impossible to determine from what quarter he might attack us: besides which, there was reason to fear that the poor trembling oxen would start off, as they frequently do on such occasions; and in that case the wagon must have been inevitably dashed to pieces. Hoping that the report and firing of a musket might keep him at a distance, I laid hold of one and discharged it, as did two or three others; and while we poured forth volley after volley in rapid succession, the rest of our company were employed in putting on and fixing the wheel. The scheme had its desired effect; and, moreover, disturbed the dogs at the place to which we were going,—a circumstance which was truly providential, as we had entirely lost our path, and the guide himself was scarcely able to tell us in what direction the hamlet lay. By following the sound of their barking, however, we soon and safely found our way to it; but had only just got under covert, when the voracious animal, hitherto restrained, was let loose. While unyoking our oxen, as if disappointed of his prey, he again roared in a most fearful manner; and soon afterward coming to the very cattle-fold, thence dragged away a fine young bullock, belonging to one of the natives, and completely tore it to pieces. "The angel of the Lord encampeth about them that fear him, and delivereth them."

After travelling nearly a week through an almost depopulated country, we arrived at Kurreshane, the Marootze capital. When within a few hours' ride, a messenger came out to inform us that the circumstances of the tribe were such at that juncture as to render it

necessary for me to wait until permission for my entrance had been regularly obtained. This I did, and the following day had full leave to proceed. The scene which now presented itself was wholly new, and big with interest: my going a little more into detail will therefore be excused. Up to the time of my arrival, this distant region had never been marked by the foot of a European, save once; nor are we yet at all acquainted, excepting by report, with any of the vast and populous districts beyond, in which there are, doubtless, numerous towns still larger than even Kurreshane itself.

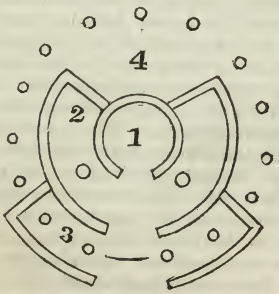
Being close to the tropics, rain falls much more frequently, and in greater quantities, than further southward. The surrounding lands are more broken, and likewise more fertile,—the soil being richer, and water plentiful. They produce also a much greater variety of timber, which enables the natives to manufacture different kinds of wooden utensils for household purposes. The camel-thorn, or *acacia giraffe*, which formed almost the only kind of tree growing on the plains we had traversed, is of too hard and flinty a nature to yield to the simple tools they possess. Hence, when wishful even to remove it out of the way of their houses or gardens, they are under the necessity of setting fire to its roots and burning it down. The whole country swells into mountainous ranges, running north and south, connected, in all probability, with the great chain commencing at the Cape peninsula, and passing through the colony nearly parallel with the coast, under the varied names of the Black, Snow, Winter, and Stormy Mountains. This extensive buttress supports the vast and elevated plains of the interior, giving their respective directions to the innumerable streams of which it is the source, according to the side of the range whence they severally burst forth. Thunder-storms are here awfully tremendous, and exceedingly destructive of life; the blasted remains of trees appear on every hand. The excessive heat and dryness of the atmosphere is a source of considerable annoyance to the traveller, as his wagon-wheels, however well made and hooped, will shrink so much as to endanger both person and property. The best remedy for this is their frequent immersion in water, or the application of wet cloths, saturated with salt, to the staves every other day.

The town stands on the very summit of a mountain, on every side of which access is extremely difficult; and in some places wholly impracticable. One path only presented itself whereby the wagon could ascend; and that was not only steep, but exceedingly rugged. Having gained the height, we were instantly surrounded by old men, females, and children, who were the only inhabitants remaining, the warriors being all gone to the field. A gloomy spiritlessness sat on every countenance, and the manner of all bespoke the absence of peace. Great poverty was apparent in the aspect both of old and young; and their reduced state induced them eagerly to eye every thing that was at all edible. One of my fellow-travellers, having shot two elephants the day before, had brought some of the flesh along with him. This, coarse as it was, proved to them an acceptable present; and numbers immediately started off to feed on the mutilated carcasses we had left behind. Such indeed is their deplorable condition sometimes, that the lower classes scruple not to eat the flesh even of carnivorous animals,—such as the wolf, the panther, and the fox.

The following day was spent principally in visiting different parts of the town, and in collecting information. Numerous circumstances rendered it evident that, although placed at so much greater a distance from civilized life, the manners of the people here were, in many respects, far superior to those of the Kaffer and Amatemboo tribes. A much greater degree of taste and cleanliness marked the whole of their domestic habits and household economy. Their cattle-folds were built chiefly of stone; and their habitations not only more substantial, but more commodious likewise. As the general plan of the Boochuana buildings have the same character, the following description will answer every purpose of elucidation.—On a circular row of mimosa poles, forty to sixty feet in diameter, and about nine feet high, a conical roof neatly thatched with straw and guinea corn-stalks is elevated, the covering being fastened down to the wooden frame by bended sprays, in the manner of hay-ricks in Europe, at about three or four feet within the outer row, so as to leave a verandah outside; an inner one of poles is erected, round and upon which, for about two-thirds of the circumference, a mud wall is raised, of two feet thick, and about seven

feet high, leaving an aperture all round under the thatch for the admission of air and the exit of smoke,—a precaution perfectly requisite where the heat of summer is so excessive; and a door-way is left in the front part of the wall, which, accommodated to the shape of the human figure, has its wide part above, and diminishes towards the feet to about the width of eight inches; within this walled enclosure an inner chamber is constructed of brush-wood, plastered with mud, round the central pole which supports the vortex of the roof, nearly a perfect parabolic conoid in shape, perhaps from four to six feet diameter, and having a small entrance of from eighteen to twenty inches square, closed by a wicker gate. This is the hidden shrine of the Boochuana *Penates*, the *sanctum* in which the more important domestic vessels and property of the inmates are preserved; and during the winter months it is employed as a sleeping apartment by the family. At angles of about sixty degrees from the outer mud wall, and joining to the small parabolic conoid structure just described, two round walls are also raised, by which the whole area under the roof is divided into four compartments (see a plan of this building in the note below):* the first, the inner conoid—the second, an outer one enclosed by the cross and other walls—and the third, the verandah which goes round the whole building, but under the shelter of the roof: on each side of the door-way in the

* 1 The inner conoidal apartment.
2 The sleeping apartment.
3 The outer division, half under and half beyond the roof.
4 The corn store.



second apartment, two fireplaces are sunk in the ground, after the Kaffer fashion, like broad and shallow pans, and made of clay; this chamber is used as the common sleeping-room of the occupants during the warm weather, and the general sleeping-chamber during all but the severer period of the year. In this building, as well as several others I visited, although not in all, another wall was built, projecting two feet beyond the projection of the roof in front of the sleeping apartments, three feet high, and whimsically ornamented, which gave an additional enclosed chamber, half under, and half beyond, the thatch; and here, in the height of summer, food is prepared, and sleep is enjoyed in the refreshing influence of the nocturnal breeze. The open space at the back of the conical chamber thus detached from the dwelling part of the house is devoted to the storage of corn, which is preserved in large jars, similar in shape to those used for Portugal grapes, made of clay, and generally from five to seven feet high. Behind this convenient edifice a thrashing-floor is formed, where the millet is beaten out by manual labour; and it has a small hole in the middle, in which the more rigid grains are stamped out of their more tenacious envelope. If the occupant is a person of wealth and consideration, several other dwellings, smaller in size, but on the same model, are placed near his own, for the accommodation of the married members of his family and his slaves, or are used as additional stores for his jars of grain; the whole of these are surrounded by an oval or circular fence, of from seven to eight feet high, two or three thick at the base, and tapering to twelve or eighteen inches at the top, which is cut quite flat and smooth: this is made of the *labora Africana*, a shrub profusely abundant, so neatly entwined and clipped, that not the smallest projecting twig can be detected; while the nature of its shape, its nearly circular form, and the strength with which it is bound together, enable it to resist the heaviest winds. The space enclosed within this is carefully laid with composition of mud and manure, and kept as neat and clean as the most active and particular housewife's kitchen-floor could possibly be. As already observed, the same method of building is employed by the Batlapee, without any attempt at either improvement or alteration; doubtless, on account of the convenience these dwellings afford, the facility of con-

struction, and an experimental knowledge that the shape they employ is the best calculated to withstand the fury of the tremendous electric storms with which this country is visited. In the way of embellishment, however, each has his own taste to direct him; and the walls are usually decorated with pictorial and moulded representations of the native animals, and human inhabitants, in a style that shows the germ of genius lies unexpanded for want of a proper stimulus to bring it into active and useful exertion.

In the course of our tour we met with the wife of the young chief who detained me at Mashow, and whom I now found to be the "heir apparent." She led me into the interior of her dwelling, which was remarkably neat. The floor was particularly clean, and in the verandah mats were spread for us to sit upon. On the walls without were painted a number of fantastical figures, representing animals of different kinds. About twelve o'clock a quantity of boiled corn and milk was served up; and nothing could exceed the purity of the vessels in which this mess was brought: hence we needed not a second invitation to partake with our sable hostess.

In the course of conversation she became very communicative, and gave me an interesting account of her misfortunes,—the moving cause of the war in which they were then engaged. Although long betrothed (espousing being here a common practice) to each other, the young chief had but recently taken her to wife. And while journeying from the residence of her father (who was ruler of one of the neighbouring tribes) to that of her husband, she was assailed by a party of the Boquains, who mercilessly beat and wounded her servants, and afterward robbed her of all she possessed. As she was bringing home the presents of her father to his son-in-law, she had with her both cattle and corn. Not satisfied with these, the ruffians fell upon and stripped her of all the ornaments she wore,—consisting of bracelets, necklaces, rings, and amulets also. These she seemed most of all to deplore, and lamented greatly while exhibiting her naked arms and neck.

Fossils and ore of various kinds are obtained from the neighbouring mountains, in great abundance; hence the mineralogist and the geologist too would, I am persuaded, find ample scope for the exercise of their genius. Beautiful specimens, both of iron and copper,

were presented to me by the natives, who smelt and manufacture it themselves. Their furnaces as well as their forges are, of course, of the most rude and simple description. Nevertheless, they fully answer their purpose, and enable them to produce articles which, in many instances, would surprise even an English artisan. Great quantities of iron beads are made, together with copper rings for the neck, arms, and legs, of all sizes. Their battle-axes, spears, darts, needles, and knives are all of native manufacture. The handles of the latter are generally made of ivory, and sometimes carved in a superior manner; bearing the figures of different animals, large and small, from the elephant to the jackal.

The next morning brought with it circumstances which placed us in a somewhat critical situation. Just after taking breakfast, and while sitting in my tent, conversing with some of the natives, the young chief unexpectedly made his apparance. He came up to me with hasty step, and apparently much fatigued. At his command every man, woman, and child instantly fled to a distance, and we were left alone. The interpreters were then called, and he commenced by stating again and again that he was come on special business. "The Boquains," said he, "have defeated us: slain on the field lie many of our men; and the living are taken captive; I only have escaped to tell our wo. Come to my help against the enemy: help me my friends to deliver. My uncle is prisoner; my warriors are all prisoners; I am therefore come for the white man and his gun, to rescue my friends, to punish my enemies." All this was said with so much gravity and effect, that it was almost impossible to indulge the suspicion of duplicity or falsehood.

The path of duty was plain but perilous, as he soon gave me to understand that, having come into his territories, it was incumbent upon me to fulfil his wishes; and that, in the event of an obstinate refusal, my life was in the king's hand. Feeling confident, however, that they would not be permitted to harm us, I at once resolved not to move to the right-hand or to the left; and therefore told him, that I neither could nor would comply with his request; that I was not come to wage war with any one, to help him against his adversaries, or his adversaries against him; but to proclaim among all the Gospel of peace. To all this he listened very

attentively; and after repeated attempts to shake my determination, hastily arose, and walked off, manifestly displeased and disappointed.

Agreeably to my expectation, the whole turned out to be a mere stratagem. Defeated indeed they were, and many of their number slain; but as to the survivors being taken captive, this was altogether false.* Having returned from the field greatly mortified and chagrined, they determined on halting behind a neighbouring mountain, until the above-mentioned scheme had been tried. And, in the event of its succeeding, their design was to return and renew the attack; but finding that it had wholly failed, they all came marching into the town in formidable array, and with the chiefs in their van, passing close by me, without so much as halting to ask a single question.

The whole of the sable train proceeded rectilinearly to the place of general rendezvous, hard by the king's residence; whither a wish to see the grand war-council induced me immediately to follow them. No man went to his own house to salute his wife, to see his children, nor even to allay the cravings of hunger; but made the order of the day the sole object of attention. The king (or regent) having taken his seat at the foot of a large tree, the whole of his warriors placed themselves in rows before him, keeping both spears and shields at their sides, which rendered the scene highly imposing. A prolix, but spirited, discussion was then commenced by some of the higher chieftains, who tauntingly ascribed their discomfiture to the cowardice and inattention of the young men; while one of the latter, as *vox populi*, most ably, but with quite as little regard to moderation, repelled the charge, and threw back the censure upon their commanders, whose arrangements he declared to be but the actions of old women. One party upbraided their ruler and his captains with a want of spirit and bravery; and they, in their turn, represented the others as mere ciphers; men full of pride and boasting while at home among their wives, but imbecile and timid as children before the enemy!

A basket of boiled corn was at length brought, and presented to the prince by one of his menials; and he, after taking a handful, passed it round among his coun-

* The tribes have no such places as jails or prison-houses.

sellors, who invited me to partake with them. I immediately and unhesitatingly availed myself of their kindness; upon which a sudden burst of acclamation proceeded from various parts of the crowd, "The white man is our friend! The white man is our friend!" This, of course, cheered me not a little, under the peculiar circumstances in which I was placed at the moment,—hundreds of miles from any other white man.

Having the interpreter at my side all the time, I was enabled to collect much information respecting their mode of warfare. In addition to the weapons already mentioned, it would appear that the Boochuana tribes sometimes use the sling; and frequently have recourse to missiles of various descriptions. In the battle they had just fought, more had fallen by stones than by the spear. The Boquains, in point of numbers, were represented as a mere handful, compared with the host that had been against them. But being, like their neighbours, established on the very pinnacle of a mountain, the precipitous sides of which rendered their town almost inaccessible, they harassed the enemy, and fractured the sculls of numbers while scrambling up its rugged cliffs. By showers of stones and pointed darts a dreadful slaughter had evidently been effected. When the retreat had commenced, the vanquished fled in the utmost disorder, pursued by troops of archers; and all who were unable to keep up with the main body were compelled to bow to their fate. Having, in the first place, cast away their mantles, that their progress might not be impeded, afterward such parts of their armour as could be best spared, and finally their battle-axes, they then, if no possible way of escape presented itself, made a dead halt; and, placing their heads between their knees, silently awaited the decapitating blow of their antagonists!

I waited in anxious suspense for the breaking up of the council, being desirous of an interview with the king, in order to ascertain his disposition towards me. From what had occurred I had, of course, no reason to expect a very favourable reception. No opportunity, however, presented itself until evening, when, to my utter astonishment, he sent his servants with a large bowl of *pulse*, consisting of pounded corn, and *mash-a-brel* (curdled milk), saying he regretted much his not having any thing better to set before the white stranger.

A second vessel filled with *boyala*, or beer, was next sent, and he himself came soon after. The words of holy writ were thus forcibly exemplified, "Put thy trust in the Lord, and he will make thine enemies to be at peace with thee." Laying aside all appearance of a warlike spirit, and observing perfect silence on the subject of my refusal to help him against his foe, he sat with us until a late hour, and was exceedingly ingenuous and communicative. I gladly therefore availed myself of the opportunity for explaining the grand object of my mission, in as familiar a manner as possible. To this he listened with great attention, and, after making two or three grave remarks upon the subject, very emphatically observed, Good are the words of the white man: unto us a teacher might be a pillar of rest."

During the night I was repeatedly awakened by the sound of lamentation on all sides. After making several fruitless inquiries of the interpreter, who was too sleepy to give me any thing like a satisfactory explanation, I arose, and went to see whence the cries proceeded; and on looking over the hedge, encompassing a cluster of huts hard by, the dim light of a small fire of wood enabled me to discover a mournful group of females; some of whom were bewailing the loss of a husband, some a father, and others a friend. As the night was dark, they did not observe me for some time; but the moment one of the company caught a glimpse of the spectator, all became perfectly silent, and with the exception of an occasional burst of laughter, remained so until I had withdrawn, when weeping and wailing was again recommenced. These melancholy howlings, in which the men took no part whatever, were kept up by numerous assemblages in different parts of the town, until after dawn of day; and then wholly ceased, and nothing more was heard respecting the slain.

The Sabbath led me more fully to indulge in reflection on the moral and destitute condition of the multitudes around me. Here was a town containing at least thirteen or fourteen thousand souls, among whom the "sound of a church-going bell" had never been heard; who were, to a man, ignorant of their own immortality; who had not the most distant idea of a final judgment, or of a future state of reward and punishment. A few indeed there were who seemed to have some confused notions of invisible powers, whom they designated

Mooreemo, and *Booreemo*, and of whom they were taught by their sorcerers to stand in constant dread, as the thunder and lightning, together with their awfully destructive effects upon man and beast, were to be regarded as the exclusive proofs of their agency in the world. Of their state as sinners before God they had no conception whatever; nor was there one among them all, male or female, in whom I could discover any thing like the faintest gleam of light respecting Christ the Saviour! No Bible save my own was to be found within a circle of hundreds of miles round about; nor indeed a book of any kind whatever. The Sabbath was utterly unknown; no place of worship had ever been erected; nor did this people know any thing more of schools than of teachers. Painful beyond expression was the sight of thousands of fine, well-made, healthy and sprightly youths, growing up under the direction of heathenish parents, under the influence of heathenish customs, and carried down the stream by the constraining force of heathenish example. I preached to them several times during my stay; and this constituted the very last opportunity numbers of them had of hearing the Gospel, as an invading host from the interior came down soon afterward, and completely destroyed the town, routing and slaying all before them.

Much indeed did I wish that the scene which here presented itself could have been witnessed by some of those specious reasoners upon the state of the heathen, who would have us believe that it is by no means one of such "gross darkness" as we are apt to imagine; but that in every nation our Peters may be expected to meet with Corneliuses and others, "fearing God and working righteousness," since the "shining of the heavenly bodies," the "mountain's romantic grandeur," and the "rippling of the little rill itself," are all objects in which the pagan cannot but see omnipotent power, and that in a way which must naturally constrain him to wonder and adore. How fallacious and how delusive! Such fancies may suit the poet's purpose; but they ill become the preacher. To hear them advanced, therefore, in argument from the pulpit, is distressing indeed; and doubly so, when they are allowed to form any part of a missionary sermon. Magnificent as are these stupendous works of nature, and magnificent indeed they are, it must ever be remembered that to revelation

alone are we indebted for those high and exalted views of their sublimity which aid the spirit of devotion; and for want of which the heathen gaze with vacant stare upon the very heavens themselves, although they "declare the glory of God," and upon the firmament also, though it "showeth forth his handiwork." Laying aside all reasoning, and leaving mere abstract principles to men more disposed to adhere to the flimsy theories of reason, than to the declarations of truth, what are the plain facts of the case? If the Bible is to answer this question, it will at once appear that "the world by wisdom knew not God." If the great apostle of the gentiles be any authority upon the subject, we may cite his words, and ask, How can they know, or "believe in him of whom they have not so much as heard; or how shall they hear without a preacher?" And if personal observation be allowed any weight in this momentous matter, it also forces us to the very same conclusion; for among all the various tribes that have as yet been visited, we have not so much as met with a single individual, man or woman (wholly unacquainted with the Gospel), who evinced any thing like a shade of saving knowledge, either in word or in deed. This then is too grave a subject for polished polemics to trifle with. Let such open their eyes to the appalling fact, which hourly stares us in the face, that millions of immortal souls, to whose affecting cries for help it has become imperative upon us to give echo, are already in the very jaws of death; and this will surely produce a spirit of earnest pleading, rather than of powerless, sportive, or conjectural harangue.

"Whoever has had any opportunity of examining into the religious opinions of persons in the inferior ranks of life, even in the most enlightened and civilized nations, will find that their system of belief is derived from instruction, not discovered by inquiry. That numerous part of the human species whose lot is labour, whose principal and almost sole occupation is to secure subsistence, views the arrangement and operations of nature with little reflection, and has neither leisure nor capacity for entering into that path of refined and intricate speculation which conducts to the knowledge of the principles of natural religion. In the early and most rude periods of savage life, such disquisitions are altogether unknown. When the intellectual powers are

just beginning to unfold, and their first feeble exertions are directed towards a few objects of primary necessity and use; when the faculties of the mind are so limited, as not to have formed abstract or general ideas; when language is so barren as to be destitute of names to distinguish any thing that is not perceived by some of the senses; it is preposterous to expect that man should be capable of tracing with accuracy the relation between cause and effect; or to suppose that he should rise from the contemplation of the one to the knowledge of the other, and form just conceptions of a Deity, as the Creator and Governor of the universe. The idea of creation is so familiar wherever the mind is enlarged by science, and illuminated with revelation, that we seldom reflect how profound and abstruse this idea is, or consider what progress man must have made in observation and research, before he could arrive at any knowledge of this elementary principle in religion. Accordingly whole tribes have been discovered, which have no idea whatever of a Supreme Being, and no rites of religious worship. Inattentive to that magnificent spectacle of beauty and order presented to their view, unaccustomed to reflect either upon what they themselves are, or to inquire who is the author of their existence, men, in their savage state, pass their days like the animals around them, without knowledge or veneration of any superior power.*

"Among some of the tribes indeed, still in the infancy of improvement, we discern apprehensions of some invisible and powerful beings. These apprehensions are originally indistinct and perplexed, and seem to be suggested rather by the dread of impending evils than to flow from gratitude for the blessings received. While nature holds on her course with uniform and undisturbed regularity, men enjoy the benefits resulting from it, without inquiring concerning its cause. But every deviation from this regular course rouses and astonishes them. When they behold events to which they are not accustomed, they search for reasons of them with curiosity. Their

* See Biet, p. 539; Lery ap. de Bry, iii. p. 221; Nieuhoff, Church. Coll. ii. p. 132; Lettr. Edif. ii. 177; Vinegas i. p. 87; Lozano Descrip. del Gran Chaco, p. 59; Fernand. Mission de Chiquit, p. 39; Gumilla ii. p. 156; Rocheforte Hist. des Antilles, p. 468; Margrave Hist. in Append. de Chiliensibus, p. 286; Ulloa Notic. Americ. p. 335, &c.; Barrere, p. 218, 219; Harcourt, Voy. to Guiana; Purch. Pilgr., iv. p. 127; Jones's Journal, p. 59.

understanding is unable to penetrate into these; but imagination, a more forward and ardent faculty of the mind, decides without hesitation. It ascribes the extraordinary occurrences in nature to the influence of invisible beings; and supposes that the thunder, the hurricane, and the earthquake are effects of their interposition.

"Were we to trace back the ideas of other nations to that rude state in which history first presents them to view, we should discover a surprising resemblance in their tenets and practices; and should be convinced that in similar circumstances the faculties of the human mind hold nearly the same course in their progress, and arrive at almost the same conclusions. Their impressions of fear are conspicuous in all the systems of superstition formed in this situation. The most exalted notions of men rise no higher than to a perplexed apprehension of certain existences whose power, though supernatural, is limited as well as partial. Among other tribes, however, which have been longer united, or have made greater progress in improvement, we discern some feeble pointing towards more just and adequate conceptions of the power that presides in nature. They seem to perceive that there must be some universal cause to whom all things are indebted for their being. If we may judge by some of their expressions, they appear to acknowledge a divine power to be the maker of the world, and the disposer of all events. They denominate him the Great Spirit.* But these ideas are faint and confused; and when they attempt to explain them, it is manifest that the word spirit has a meaning very different from that in which we employ it; and that they have no conception of any deity but what is corporeal."†

* Charlev. N. Fr., iii. p. 343; Sagard. Voy. du Pays des Hurons. p. 226.

† Robertson's History of America, Book iv. p. 65--70.

CHAPTER X.

Other causes of war among the tribes—Unrighteous conduct of colonists—Gonaqua's "Tale of wo"—Extraordinary barbarity—Colonial boundaries—Commandoes—Battle between S'Lhambi and Gaika—History of Makanna—Cession of Kaffer territory.

While feudal systems have for ages been thus lamentably desolating the interior of the country, the destroyer has had yet other engines in awful play upon the more southern tribes. The unrighteous conduct of colonists, who from time to time settled in their borders, frequently proved a far more serious and destructive cause of warfare to the Kaffers, than any originating among themselves. Not satisfied with encroaching upon their territories, they ofttimes reduced whole hordes from a state of pastoral affluence to one of extreme indigence. Nor was this the worst: many were decoyed from their homes and enslaved; and their offspring, born in the houses of their task-masters, often sold among goods and chattels belonging to the estate. Making every allowance for exaggeration occasioned by excitement of feeling on the recollection of past wrongs, the accounts of the natives themselves cannot be heard without pain and indignation. But official documents, under seal and signature of the colonial government, are quite sufficient, independently of oral testimony, to prove the oppression and tragic scenes of former days.

The black nations of Southern Africa were doubtless known, and that advantageously, to the Dutch, Portuguese, and other navigators, long before the commencement of the eighteenth century; but a despatch sent to Holland by the governor and council of the Cape of Good Hope, under date of April 1st, 1703, furnishes the first official account of intercourse between them and the colonists. From the contents of this document the principles of that age are made fully manifest. A number of Dutch farmers openly confessed that, under the pretence of trading with a certain tribe, called the Kabuquas, they, together with their "Hottentot attendants, ninety in number, had attacked the said Kaffers, and robbed them, and two kraals of Hottentots, of great

herds of cattle and sheep, killing numbers of the people." Although the government highly disapproved of the conduct of these freebooters, the following extract from the despatch renders it indubitably evident that they were never brought to justice:—

"Regarding the well-deserved punishment which these barterers ought to receive, we have as yet not dared to proceed about it, because the half of the colony would be ruined, so great is the number of inhabitants implicated, whose poor wives and innocent children would fall into the deepest misery." The governor and council then concluded that the affair, being of such vast "consequence to the colony, ought to be passed over, with the intention to take good care that no further opportunity be given to commit such acts."

But however good might be the intentions and enactments of the then existing government, it is abundantly manifest that they were not enforced in any way that was at all calculated to put a stop to the nefarious and sanguinary schemes of wicked and lawless men. Being at a great distance from the seat of government, and scattered over a wide extent of country, which by means of arms and ammunition he had cleared of its original and rightful inhabitants, each boor was accustomed to regard himself as lord of the manor. In the absence of all checks, civil, political, and religious, the barbarous state into which he sunk may be more easily conceived than described. Principle was trampled under foot; humanity appeared to have forsaken him; and he at length became capable of acts the most perfidious.

"About fifty-six years ago, the boors of Bruintjes Hoogte invited the Mandankæ clan of Kaffers, of whom Jalumba was then chief, to meet them on the western bank of the Great Fish River, for the purpose of holding a consultation on some public matters. The Mandankæ attended the meeting, where a palaver was held, and they were entertained with tobacco. After which the boors said, they had brought a costly present for their good friends the Kaffers; and having spread some rush-mats on the ground, they covered them with beads, and invited their visiters to make a scramble, and display their activity in picking them up, upon a signal to be given. The boors then retired a little distance to where their guns were lying ready loaded with two or three bullets each. The signal was given by the Veld-Cornet Bot-

man. The Kaffers rushed upon the beads, overturning each other in their eagerness. The boors at the same instant seized their guns, and poured in a volley upon their unsuspecting visiters; and so destructive was their murderous aim, that very few, it is said, escaped the massacre."*

Adrian Van Jaarsveld, one of the old Dutch commandants, officially informed the Board of Landdrost and Heemvaaden of Stellenbosch, on the 20th July 1781, "that some Kaffer chiefs, whose names were mentioned, having penetrated to this side the Great Fish River, he had assembled armed inhabitants and Hottentots, and, having in vain used all possible means to induce the Kaffers by persuasion to return over the river, according to the treaty with them, and being in great danger from these people, he had been compelled to kill several of them. He had also taken some of their cattle, and attacked other Kaffers who resided on this side the Fish River, and who had robbed the white inhabitants, and also had by threats driven others across the river. The report also stated, that 5200 head of cattle were taken (among which were many that the Kaffers had before stolen from us), all which the commandant divided, after consultation with the Veld-Wachtmeester and corporals, among the commando." Of this appropriation of the cattle thus taken from the natives, and which were doubtless the main object of this commando, while the driving of the people over the Fish River was made the ostensible reason, the government approved; but at the same time stated, that it must not be drawn "into a precedent for the future, much less made a basis on which the inhabitants might seek some quarrel with the Kaffers to rob them of their cattle."†

In 1793, a treaty appears to have been made between the colony and the Kaffers, by which peace was in some measure restored. Those of the natives who had really intruded went beyond the Fish River for a time; but many who had intermixed with the Gonaquas remained with such of the latter as still occupied their old western country. In a year or two afterward, the whole country on both sides of the boundary line was in such a tumultuous state, that every movement of both whites and blacks assumed the most warlike aspect. It must,

* Thompson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 338. † Tydschrift, 1827. No. 19.

however, be observed that the disturbances within the colony originated in various causes entirely unconnected with the Kaffers, although some of the clans were induced to take part in the wars agitated by the colonists. Upon this subject Barrow states, "The Kaffers having been instigated by promises and presents from the boors to enter into hostilities against the British troops, coercive measures were found to be unavoidable, in order to endeavour to drive these people out of the colony, and to break the connexion that subsisted between them and the peasantry."* Hence, we perceive that, notwithstanding the great and professed aversion which has ever been uniformly evinced by the old colonists towards the coloured race, they have at all times gladly availed themselves of the aid of these "Canaanites," as some have termed them, when circumstances rendered it desirable.

Soon after the breaking out of war between S'Lhambi and Gaika, numerous feuds and intestine broils took place, which tended greatly to scatter and divide many of the clans. Some of them joined the emigrant chief, Congo; others went towards the Zwaartkops, still further to the westward; while a third division proceeded in a northerly direction towards the Orange River; and on obtaining his liberty, S'Lhambi himself, appears to have settled in the Zuurveld, now called Albany. These circumstances, added to the pillaging excursions of the boors, reduced numbers to a state of the most abject poverty. Of this their white neighbours did not fail to avail themselves for the accomplishment of their own ends. Anxious to augment their rebel force, with the view of resisting the authority of government, now British, and bent on keeping up, if possible, their system of enslaving the aborigines, both Kaffers and Gonaquas were invited into their service. All this, however, only tended to aggravate the vengeful blow which ultimately rebounded upon their own heads; for although professedly desirous of making the native their ally, to secure his help in times of danger, their deep-rooted prejudices could not but operate as an insuperable barrier to their ever gaining his full and sincere confidence. Just as they regarded him, so did they treat him, not as a human being, but as one that more properly belonged

* Barrow, vol. i. p. 184.

to the mere animal species. Consequently necessity alone constrained him to be their servant.

An old emaciated Gonaqua, resident on our station, one day informed me that after the farmers had deprived his countrymen of their lands, and, by stealth and extortion, bereft them of their herds also, the cravings of hunger obliged him, together with many more, to become the menials of their plunderers. By one of these he was employed in the capacity of a shepherd, as was another person likewise of the same tribe; and observing a goat one day wandering to some distance from the flock, he pursued and caught it, and, having brought it to the others, turned it in among them. His comrade, however, was evil-disposed towards him; and hence, in the hope of ingratiating himself with the master, gave information on their return from the fields, that he had made an attempt to run off with the animal. Hearing this, the merciless tyrant, without ceremony, seized the poor fellow, and with the butt end of his ox sam-bok brutally beat him on the mouth, crying, "You wish to eat goat's flesh, do you, *schelm?* Accursed *zwaart*, (black) is that the kind of meat you are desirous of making?" So saying he actually knocked out nearly one-third of the wretched man's teeth! Not satisfied with this, he proceeded to exercise upon his helpless victim an unnameable species of barbarity, the very invention of which must have sprung from a heart, not only inhuman, but devilish beyond description.

Not long afterward, another of these ruffians took away a child belonging to the same old man, who has never seen it since. The poignant feelings occasioned by this nefarious transaction have of course been somewhat blunted by the lapse of years; but all the various circumstances connected with it are still indelibly impressed upon the parent's mind. When endeavouring to rescue his boy from the grasp of the kidnapper, the latter furiously fell upon him, and, with a tremendous instrument, lashed and lacerated him in a manner that produced large wounds in different parts of the body, but more especially upon the head. The scars were quite plain when I saw him; and will doubtless remain as testimonials against the hand that caused them, until the tottering system mingles with its mother dust!

These white barbarians (who, strange to tell, still boasted of the Christian name!) might really seem to

have vied with the savage himself in acts of cruelty; and the following fact will show that on some occasions, at least, they even exceeded him:—A number of native hirelings being no longer willing to bear the yoke imposed upon them, left their masters, and returned to the eastern side of the Fish River, taking with them the Hottentot wives whom they had married in the land of their sojourn. Shortly afterward a party of farmers were out on a hunting excursion, and happened to meet with one or two of these *weg-loopers* (runaways), as they called them, not far from Gaika's residence. On inquiry it was found that there were others of the same description in the neighbourhood. One of these hearing that his old employer was in pursuit of him, immediately fled into the forest, and there concealed himself. Interest was therefore made with the chief, who at length ascertained where the fugitive was; but, although a Gonaqua and a stranger among his clans, Gaika positively refused to give him up until the boors had promised that no harm should be done to him; at the same time assuring them that if his wish was not attended to, he should feel bound to refuse them similar assistance in future. They then departed, driving these miserable creatures (some of whom were females) before them, as though they had been slaves. The reasons for their assumption of such monstrous power were, "that they had formerly been in their service; that they had eaten of their provisions;" (picked bones, and, with the dogs, fed upon the intestines of whatever the master might kill!) "and married Hottentot women, and had belonged to their farms!" Men whose consciences would suffer them to prefer such claims would not, of course, scruple to break their promise; and so it lamentably proved. Scarcely had they got beyond view of Gaika's habitation, before the man who had endeavoured to elude their grasp was seized, and bound fast by the arms and legs to two of their most spirited horses; these were then driven off at full speed, and literally tore him to pieces! "Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" Jeremiah v. 9.

In 1798, the governor, Earl Macartney, finding that these Moor-like men, in defiance of all former treaties and enactments, still continued their depredations upon the Kaffers, under the pretence either of trafficking

with them, or of merely going into their country to shoot elephants and hippopotami, determined on establishing permanent boundaries. His excellency's proclamation, dated July 14th, 1798, reads as follows:—

"Whereas hitherto no exact limits have been marked out respecting the boundaries between this colony and the Kaffers; and in consequence of such limits not having been regularly ascertained, several of the inhabitants in the more distant parts of this settlement have united in injuring the peaceable possessors of those countries; and under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduced the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbing and various other irregularities, in order to support life:

"I, therefore, after having taken proper information on the subject, have thought it expedient for promoting the welfare of this settlement, and establishing good order in the remote districts of it, to fix the following-mentioned places to be in future the boundaries* of the colony, viz.—

"Between the Kaffers and the inhabitants,

"I. The Great Fish River, as far as the Esterhuyzes Post at the Kachas.

"II. The whole of the Kachas Mountains, as far as the Tarka Mountains.

"III. From the Tarka Mountains to the Bamboes Mountain.

"IV. From the Bamboes Mountain to the Zuur Mountain.

"V. From the Zuur Mountain to the Edele Heer's Beacon, situate on the Zekoe River.

"VI. From the Edele Heer's beacon, across the Zeekoe River, as far as the Great Table Mountain; forming thus a semi-circle from the eastward at the outermost limits to the west."

Beyond this line the colonists were positively forbidden to go on any pretence whatever, under penalty of total confiscation of their cattle, and banishment from the settlement. Nevertheless, "the anarchy in the

* These, together with the various old boundaries, will be found marked upon the map; and although the latter be not, in every instance, defined with as much accuracy as could have been desired, they will, nevertheless, serve to furnish the reader with a tolerably correct idea of the unjust encroachments which, from time to time, have been made upon lands belonging to the aborigines.

eastern districts was not much lessened, and certainly not abated, by the effect of those laws. Perhaps the difficulties of the times did not admit of speedy remedy, by even the wisest policy."* A flame, in fact, had long been kindling, and this at length burst forth with awful fury. The Kaffers, as was to be expected, had already begun to retaliate and avenge themselves upon their treacherous neighbours. War was proclaimed between them; their barbarities were reciprocal and terrific indeed. Scenes were then exhibited which left an indelible impression; and feelings were excited in the minds of both parties which have not yet subsided, but which will in all probability go down to posterity. It was an age of horror not to be described, but of which some idea may be formed from the following statements by Barrow.

This traveller ascribes the whole of those tragical events which happened to the frontier colonists, to their own "malicious and ill-judged conduct, which was the means of bringing together a united force of Kaffers and Hottentots, whose first step was to drive all the boors out of their society, to plunder them of the rest of their cattle, set fire to their houses, and put several of them to death. Having cleared the whole of the lower part of Graaf-Reinnet, they advanced into the district of Zwellendam. Their whole hatred was levelled against the boors. English dragoons, travelling alone with despatches, have frequently been met by large parties of these plunderers, and suffered to pass without molestation. Even a house which they discovered at Plattenberg's Bay to belong to an English gentleman, they left undisturbed, while all the rest that fell in their way were burnt to the ground.

"The same house, however, was afterward plundered by a party of boors, who had been collected by the magistrates of Zwellendam to clear the district of Kaffers and Hottentots. These unprincipled men, either out of revenge, or from an irresistible impulse to mischief, broke open the house, carried away clothing and every thing that was portable, drank all the wine and spirits they could find, and made themselves completely intoxicated; yet the very men who committed these enormities were at that moment under the impres-

* Bannister's Humane Policy.

sion that their dearest connexions, their wives and children, were massacred by the enemy, into whose hands they knew them to have fallen. They had been met, it seems, a few days before in a narrow pass by a party of Kaffers and Hottentots; and, as usual, on perceiving the enemy, mounted their horses and galloped away as fast as they could, leaving their wives and children and wagons in the possession of the robbers.

"No outrage nor injury was offered to the prisoners; but on the contrary, as on all similar occasions, they were treated with respect: they even despatched a messenger after the fugitive boors, to say that if they chose to ransom their wives and children for a small quantity of powder and lead and a dozen head of cattle, they should instantly be delivered up. It is natural to suppose that under such circumstances, the ties of kindred affection would have superseded all considerations of prudence, and have stifled resentment; and that a proposal which held out such easy terms for the recovery of their wives and children would have been seized with avidity. But one of the party, recognising the messenger thus sent to them to have once been in his service, and recollecting he was now standing before them in the shape of an enemy and defenceless, fired at once with rage and revenge, snatched up his musket and shot him dead upon the spot. Intelligence of this atrocious act was speedily conveyed by the companion of the deceased to the Kaffers, and it was reported and believed, that they had, in consequence, put all the women and children to death. The prisoners, however, were given up, notwithstanding the murder of the messenger; for they disdained, as they told them, to take away the lives of the innocent; but they should soon find an opportunity of avenging the death of their countryman upon their husbands, together with the many injuries and oppressions under which they had so long been labouring."*

Disturbance and sanguinary hostilities were scarcely reduced upon the restoration of the colony to the Batavian government in 1803, although they long occupied the earnest personal care of the excellent and enlightened Sir Francis Dundas.† In accounting for the wretched state of things which had existed for more

* Barrow, vol. i. p. 418. † Bannister's Humane Policy.

than a century, the Baron Van Pallandt, one of the honorary chamberlains to his majesty the king of the Netherlands, but who was at that time private secretary to Governor Janssens, very frankly states, "that the means of executing the laws were few and feeble, while the heads of police were so far distant from the scenes of crime, and so supine themselves, and so ill supported by their own superiors, that the law, good as it might be, was reduced to a dead letter." The most false and abominable reports were frequently circulated respecting the designs and movements of the black tribes, with the manifest intention of inducing government to attack and destroy them altogether. This will appear evident from the following official report which was made by Captain Alberti, the landdrost of Uitenhage, and which constitutes one of the latest public notices of the Kaffers under the Batavian government. It is dated Fort Frederic, Algoa Bay, May 14th, 1805; and was gazetted on the 1st June, 1805:—

"A report having been spread that the inhabitants of the Zwaartkops Revier and the environs had quitted their farms for fear of another Kaffer revolt, he considered himself bound, for the public satisfaction, to declare that no farm had been left; and the Kaffer chiefs had acted with so much propriety, that there was no reason whatever to doubt the continuance of peace with them. Probably a few robberies committed by single Kaffers have given rise to the false report; but in those instances the owners had already recovered the greatest part of the stolen cattle; and what are still missing will undoubtedly be restored. There is, in reality, the best proof that we have nothing to fear from the bulk of the Kaffer nation, the chiefs and well-disposed part thereof having strongly condemned the few plunderers, and assisted zealously to punish them and recover what was stolen. (Signed) ALBERTI."

A few days previous to the appearance of this notice, "the mischievous effects which these false imputations against the Kaffers produced in the colony had been noticed in the Gazette; where it was declared that no commando would be allowed upon such pretences to plunder the natives, and the people were with laudable firmness called upon to 'respect the rights of others,

as they would wish regard to be shown to their own.'"*

In 1806, when the colony became a second time subject to British arms, the eastern province and bordering tribes appear to have been somewhat more peaceable, and great numbers of natives had actually settled as servants among the colonists. But so amazingly did the scale of public feeling and opinion afterward turn against them, that, in the year 1811, they were publicly proclaimed to be "irreclaimable, barbarous, and perpetual enemies," while the conduct of their white neighbours was in the same manner declared to be unoffending towards these "faithless and unrelenting disturbers of the peace." Positive orders were in consequence forthwith issued for the utter expulsion of every Kaffer who might be found westward of the Fish River; which was done accordingly.

"At the time," says my friend Mr. Brownlee, in his notes before referred to, "the commando assembled to accomplish this object, it was in the summer, when their crops of vegetables were fit for using. There is little doubt that the Kaffers felt very reluctant to leave a country which they had occupied the greater part of a century, and part of which they had at a remote period bought from the aboriginal inhabitants, Gonaquas. The hardship of abandoning their crops was urgently pleaded, since, in consequence of this measure, they must necessarily suffer a year of famine. These remonstrances, however, were altogether unavailing. All the Kaffers (nearly 20,000) were collected, and conducted by a military escort over the Great Fish River. Those in Albany retreated, but only before the commando, and showed determined reluctance in quitting a country which they might certainly with some propriety call their own. During these proceedings there was some intercourse still between the commando and the main body of the Kaffers, and an interview was proposed between the Kaffer chiefs and Mr. Stockenstrom, the Landdrost of Graaf-Reinnet. That magistrate, who was well acquainted with many of the chiefs, met some of the Mandankæ Kaffers, belonging to Congo, in the middle of a wood near the Zuurberg, with little more than a dozen attendants. These Kaffers, perhaps recollecting

* Papers on African Civilization See Cape Colonist.

the murder of their forefathers by the colonists, took this opportunity to obtain their revenge; for Mr. Stockenstrom and most of his attendants were treacherously murdered on the spot.*

"After the Kaffers had been driven over the Fish River, military posts were established on its banks, to prevent their return, and check their depredations. Nevertheless, from this period to 1817 they continued to annoy the colonists on the frontier by occasional inroads; sometimes murdering the herdsmen, and taking away the cattle; and although there was every precaution adopted by the military, such is the nature of the country along the Fish River, that ten times the number of troops that have ever been kept on the frontier, would have been quite insufficient to prevent these disorders.

"In 1817 the governor visited Kafferland, and had an interview with Gaika and some of the other chiefs, when it was arranged that all cattle in their possession of colonial breed, and all horses, should be given up. The Kaffers had been in a state of frequent warfare with the colony for forty years prior to this period, long before it was taken by the English; and it is therefore probable that cattle taken in what they considered just warfare may thus have been extorted from them, increasing consequently their secret heart-burnings. One particular arrangement then made was, that, if cattle, stolen from

* The following pleasing fact will here form a happy contrast, and speak volumes in favour of the change that has already been effected. The Honourable Captain Stockenstrom, who succeeded his unfortunate father in the office of landdrost at the above-mentioned place, and who is at present commissioner-general of the eastern province, and likewise a member of the council, had occasion to visit Wesleyville in the month of April, 1829. On his arrival the chiefs were called together in order to receive a special message, with which he was charged from the colonial government. In the course of his address to them, he adverted to the lamentable events of former days; but at the same time remarked, "We do not now seek each other with the musket or the assagai to shed each other's blood. When we meet it is to shake hands and be good friends. The bad times are passed away. The Kaffers killed my father, and you were near at the time: the boors killed your father, and I was not far off when it happened. Those were bad doings, but now all is changed. You have received missionaries; you have now the same word of God that we have. The only difference between us is the colour of our skin; and though you are black and we are white, yet God has made of one blood all nations of the earth." The palaver being ended, Captain S. dined at the mission-house in company with the chiefs, who all sat down at the same table with him!

the colony, were traced to any Kaffer kraal, that kraal should be held responsible, and either find the cattle or give an equal number. Another arrangement proposed by the colonial government on this occasion was, to make Gaika responsible for the conduct of the Kaffer nation, and that the government should treat only with him, and have nothing to do with any of the other chiefs. This gave Gaika some consequence, but gained him no respectability; for the plan proposed was repugnant to the feelings of all the other Kaffers. From this period Gaika acted according to his engagement, and a number of horses and colonial cattle were sent out. Yet S'Lhambi and some of his adherents did not acknowledge Gaika's authority; and in some instances they sent out cattle themselves, without acquainting Gaika. This renewed the old jealousy between them.

"The state of the frontier remained much the same; and in Kafferland there was much secret animosity gaining ground. S'Lhambi despised Gaika, and said, 'Shall I be subject to a boy, whom I have nursed?' Makanna (or Lynx, as he was commonly called in the colony), knowing the hatred of Gaika towards himself, did all in his power to set the other chiefs at variance with him. At this period there was also a misunderstanding between Gaika's Kaffers and those belonging to Hinza; and one thing that particularly created resentment against the former was, that some of his men took away by force some of the plumes of the crown feathers from Hinza's people. Gaika, moreover, thought proper to take to himself a wife (Tata) who belonged to one of S'Lhambi's counsellors; and, on a remonstrance being made on the subject, refused to give her up. This led to a serious dissension among the Kaffer clans; and they began to make preparations for war, particularly in making ready shields and assagais. These preparations, and the assembling of the forces, were entirely under the superintendence of Dushani, S'Lhambi's son and successor. Makanna had also a leading hand in all this, and a number of Hinza's people joined against Gaika." The latter had slain Hinza's uncle, Kaanzi, with his own hand; the remembrance of which circumstance, together with that of his having taken him prisoner when but a lad, rendered Hinza infuriate on this occasion.

The place where they engaged was between the Buffalo River and the Debe. Gaika's people had been as-

sembled to meet the enemy for part of two days,—and in this time they had nothing to eat. The place where they assembled was on the side of a hill, not far from the Debe; and on this hill Gaika sat when his men went on to the combat. S'Lhambi's party had several guns, which annoyed Gaika's followers extremely, and made them in a short time give way. From the small number of assagais they carry, their conflicts are generally soon over; though not unfrequently they meet in a bushy place, and continue skirmishing for a great part of the day. But in this engagement there was a complete chase; and S'Lhambi's party having a number of horses, they came up with the fugitives, and made a selection of those who had the greatest riches; that is, those who had most beads and ornaments: these were slain—while others, from their apparent poverty, were suffered to escape. The number killed was considerable; and Gaika lost the whole of his old counsellors, with the exception of one. The victors did not continue the pursuit; but Jalusha, the brother of S'Lhambi, who, from his position (residing between Gaika's kraal and the Kat River), and his promise to support Gaika's party, had been restrained from joining his brother, on seeing the defeat of the former, immediately joined in plundering, and captured a great number of cattle between the Chumi and Keiskamma, belonging to Gaika's followers.

"Gaika, after this defeat, fled westward, near to the sources of the Kounap River, and with all possible speed made his situation known to the colonial authorities on the frontier. Shortly after, there was a strong force sent from the colony to chastise S'Lhambi and his adherents, which in a very short period captured a great number of cattle. Nine thousand were given to Gaika as a remuneration for the losses he had sustained, and more than that number were brought out to the colony. The confederate chiefs then turned all their fury against the colony; and in a very short time the country between the Fish River and the Zwaartkops was overrun by Kaffers, and several of the small military posts were obliged to be evacuated. The boors who inhabited the Zuurveldt fled, and removed their cattle to the westward of Uitenhage. In these attacks the Kaffers showed a determined resolution to recover their cattle; yet, although they killed many of the soldiers and colonists, they did not evince that bloodthirsty disposition that is

common to most barbarians. When they could get away the cattle without being opposed, they made no attempt on the lives of the inhabitants."*

Their next and last grand effort was made in the attack upon Graham's Town, before alluded to. To this daring step the clans were instigated chiefly by Makanna, who was a native of considerable intelligence, and whose astonishing influence over the minds of his credulous countrymen is even still manifest, in the homage everywhere paid to his memory. This singular man seems to have possessed some knowledge of religion; but as his pretensions and principles bore much more of the Mohammedan than of the Christian character, this will perhaps be the most suitable place to introduce a brief outline of his history. The following spirited account is extracted from Mr. Thomas Pringle's Notes, appended to the volume of poems published by that gentleman some time ago :—

"The counsels of the Kaffer chiefs were at this time (1818) directed by an extraordinary individual, generally known in the colony by the name of Lynx; but whose native appellation was Makanna. He had been originally a Kaffer of low rank, destitute of property, and without any pretension to nobility of lineage; but by his talents and address had gradually raised himself to distinction. Before the present war broke out, he was in the habit of frequently visiting the British head-quarters at Graham's Town; and had evinced an insatiable curiosity and an acute judgment on subjects both speculative and practical. With the military officers he talked of war, or of such of the mechanical arts as fell under his observation; but his great delight was to converse with Mr. Vanderlingen, the chaplain, to elicit information in regard to the doctrines of Christianity; and to puzzle him in return with metaphysical subtleties or mystical ravings.

"Whether Makanna had acquired any correct views of the Christian system seems very doubtful; but of his knowledge, such as it was, he made an extraordinary use. Combining what he had learned respecting the creation, the fall of man, the atonement, the resurrection, and other Christian doctrines, with some of the superstitious traditions of his countrymen, and with his

* Thompson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 344–346.

own wild fancies, he framed a sort of extravagant religious medley; and, like another Mohammed, boldly announced himself as a prophet and teacher directly inspired from heaven. He endeavoured to throw around his obscure origin a cloud of mystery; and impiously called himself 'the brother of Christ.'* In his usual demeanour he assumed a reserved, solemn, and abstracted air, and kept himself apart from observation; but in addressing the people, who flocked in multitudes to hear him, he appeared to pour forth his soul in a flow of affecting and impetuous eloquence. The Rev. Mr. R., who visited him in Kafferland in 1816, describes his appearance as exceedingly imposing, and his influence both over the chiefs and the common people as most extraordinary. He addressed the assembled multitudes with great effect; inculcating a stricter morality, and boldly upbraiding the most powerful chiefs with their vices; at other times, instructing them in Scripture history, he adduced, as a proof of the universal deluge, the existence of immense beds of sea-shells on the tops of the neighbouring mountains. To the missionaries he was apparently friendly, and urged them to fix their residence in the country under his protection; yet they were puzzled by his mysterious demeanour, and shocked by his impious pretensions, and could only conclude that he was calculated to do much good or mischief, according as his influence might be ultimately employed.

"By degrees he gained a complete control over all the principal chiefs, with the exception of Gaika, who feared and avoided him. He was consulted on every matter of consequence, received numerous gifts, collected a large body of retainers, and was acknowledged as a warrior-chief as well as a prophet. His ulterior objects were never fully developed; but it seems not improbable that he contemplated raising himself to the sovereignty as well as to the priesthood of his nation; and proposed to himself the patriotic task (for though a religious impostor, he certainly was not destitute of high and generous aspirations) to elevate by degrees

* I am credibly informed by an aged native, who was in the constant habit of hearing him, that Makanna positively and uniformly contended that Christ, of whom the boors and Hottentots spake, was not the Son of God.

his barbarous countrymen, both politically and intellectually, nearer to a level with the Europeans.

"But whatever were Makanna's more peaceful projects, the unexpected invasion of the country by the English troops, in 1818, diverted his enterprise into a new and more disastrous channel. The confederate chiefs, in turning their arms against Gaika, though roused by their own immediate wrongs, had acted at the same time under their prophet's directions; for it was one of his objects to humble, if not to crush entirely, that tyrannical and treacherous chief, who was the great obstacle to his public, and perhaps personal, views of aggrandizement. With the English authorities he had assiduously cultivated terms of friendship; and had not apparently anticipated any hostile collision with them on this occasion. But after Brereton's destructive inroad, by which Makanna's followers, in common with the other confederate clans, had suffered most cruelly, the whole soul of the warrior-prophet seems to have been bent upon revenging the aggressions of the Christians, and emancipating his country from their arrogant control. He saw that this was not to be effected by mere marauding incursions, such as had always hitherto characterized Kaffer warfare. The great difficulty was to concentrate the energies of his countrymen, and direct their desultory aims to more important objects; and this he at length effected.

"By his spirit-rousing eloquence, his pretended revelations from heaven, and his confident predictions of complete success, provided they implicitly followed his counsels, he persuaded the great majority of the Amaxosæ clans (including some of Hinza's warriors) to unite their forces for a simultaneous attack upon Graham's Town, the head-quarters of the British troops. He told them that he was sent by *Uhlanga*, the Great Spirit, to avenge their wrongs; that he had power to call up from the grave the spirits of their ancestors to assist them in battle against the white men, whom they should drive, before they stopped, across the Zwaartkops River, and into the ocean; 'And then,' said the prophet, 'we will sit down and eat honey.' Ignorant of our vast resources, Makanna probably conceived that, this once effected, the contest was over for ever with the usurping Europeans.

"Having called out the chosen warriors from the va-

rious clans, Makanna mustered his army in the forests of the Great Fish River, and found himself at the head of (according to the best accounts) about nine thousand men. He then sent (in conformity with a custom held in repute among Kaffer heroes) a message of defiance to Colonel Wilshire, the British commandant, announcing 'that he would breakfast with him next morning.' At the first break of dawn the warriors were arrayed for battle on the mountains near Graham's Town; and, before they were led on to the assault, were addressed by Makanna in an animating speech, in which he is said to have promised the aid of the spirits of earth and air to assist their cause, and to countervail the boasted prowess of the 'white men's fire.'

"Thus excited, they were led on by their various chiefs,—but all under the general direction of the prophet himself, and his chief captain, Dushani, the son of S'Lhambi. The English were completely astonished and taken by surprise; and had the Kaffers advanced by night, they could not have failed of capturing the place. All was now bustle and confusion in the little garrison, which consisted of only about three hundred and fifty European troops and a small corps of disciplined Hottentots. The place had no regular defences, and the few fieldpieces which it possessed were not in perfect readiness. The Kaffers rushed on to the assault with their wild war-cries. They were gallantly encountered by the troops, who poured upon them, as they advanced in dense disorderly masses, a destructive fire of musketry, every shot of which was deadly, while their showers of assagais fell short or ineffective. Still, however, they advanced courageously, the chiefs cheering them on almost to the muzzles of the British guns: and many of the foremost warriors were now seen breaking short their last assagai to render it a stabbing weapon, in order to rush in upon the troops, according to Makanna's directions, and decide the battle in close combat. This was very different from their usual mode of bush-fighting; but the suggestion of it evinces Makanna's judgment—for, if promptly and boldly acted upon, it could not have failed of success: the great bodily strength and agility of the Kaffers, as well as their vast superiority in numbers, would have enabled them to overpower the feeble garrison in a few minutes.

"At this critical moment, and while other parties of

the barbarians were pushing on to assail the place in flank and rear, the old Hottentot captain, Boezak, and his party rushed intrepidly forward to meet the enemy. To old Boezak most of the Kaffer chiefs and captains were personally known; and he was familiar with their fierce appearance and furious shouts. Singling out the boldest of those who, now in advance, were encouraging their men to the final onset, Boezak and his followers levelled in a few minutes a number of the most distinguished chiefs and warriors. Their onset was for a moment checked. The British troops cheered, and renewed with alacrity their firing. At the same instant the fieldpieces, now brought to bear upon the thickest of the enemy, opened a most destructive fire of grapeshot. Some of the warriors madly rushed forward and hurled their spears at the artillerymen; but it was in vain. The front ranks were mown down like grass. Those behind recoiled; wild panic and irretrievable rout ensued. Makanna, after vainly attempting to rally them, accompanied their flight. They were pursued but a short way; for the handful of cavalry durst not follow them into the broken ravines where they speedily precipitated their flight. The slaughter was great for so brief a conflict. About one thousand four hundred Kaffer warriors strewed the field of battle, and many more perished of their wounds before they reached their own country."

However dangerously a Kaffer may be wounded, he will never allow his body to fall into the hands of the enemy if he can possibly avoid it. If he has but just strength sufficient to enable him to crawl off the field, be his agony what it may, he will invariably make his way into the bush, or some other place of concealment, and there lie down and die, unseen, unheard, and unattended. Of this Mr. Barrow gives us a remarkable instance. "On our arrival," says that traveller, "towards evening at Zwaartkops River, a number of the Kaffers were observed lurking among the thickets. About midnight the sentinel which we had placed by way of precaution, gave the alarm of an enemy. Upon this a sergeant of the dragoons, observing something move in the dark, rushed into the bushes, and, firing his pistol, brought a man to the ground. It was a young well-looking Kaffer about six feet high. He made great efforts to remain on his feet; but, weakened by the loss

of blood, he was soon unable to stand without support. On examining his wound, we found the ball had entered just below the shoulder-blade and passed through the right breast. With some difficulty we contrived to stop the hemorrhage, and to bind up the wound, after washing it well with milk and water. From the distortions of countenance, and the large drops of sweat that ran over his body, it was very evident that he suffered a violent degree of pain: but he neither vented a sigh nor a groan, nor could he be prevailed upon to open his lips, although spoken to in his own language by a Hottentot interpreter. We caused him to be carried into a clean straw hut, and milk in a curdled state to be brought to him, but he refused it. At an early hour in the morning I went to the hut to inquire after the patient's health, but he was gone. The Coffray, or infidel, at the point of death, thought it safer to crawl into the woods than to remain in the hands of the Christians."

After the failure of their attack on Graham's Town the Kaffers were much disconcerted, and retreated in a short time over the Fish River. In August, 1819, a great commando entered Kafferland, and captured, in a short time, a vast number of cattle in the hamlets along the Fish River. The commando from the district of Graff Reinnet entered Kafferland from Tarka, and came upon the inhabited part of the country near the sources of the Kat River; but before their arrival in that quarter, S'Lhambi had crossed the Keiskamma; and Congo, who was near the mouth of the Fish River, with Habanna, after an interview with Major Fraser, was allowed to remain on the coast between the Fish and Keiskamma rivers. At the same time Makanna, finding he was declared an outlaw by the colonial government, and ordered to be taken dead or alive, surrendered himself to the landdrost of Graaff Reinnet, upon his life being guarantied. He was sent a prisoner to Robbin Island,—a fate which he appears not to have anticipated; and was soon afterward drowned in attempting to escape. Such, however, are the notions of his countrymen, that his most inveterate enemies will scarcely believe it possible for Makanna to be dead; while others are of opinion that if he really is no more, the grave will not be able to retain him much longer, but that he will assuredly return to his own land again.

"The commando proceeded to scour the Kaffer coun-

try; one party penetrating along the coast almost to the mouth of the Kae; another along the mountains and woods near the sources of the Keiskamma and Buffalo Rivers. The regular troops brought up the baggage, and acted as a guard for the captured cattle, being posted in the centre of the country. S'Lhambi's followers, having retreated to the Kae, afterward proceeded up that river; and though the pursuit was continued by the commando of boors on horseback, they were never able to come up with the main body of the natives. The foot soldiers proceeded slowly along with the wagons and artillery; and although the whole country in their route was deserted by most of its inhabitants, except the women and children, on several occasions numbers of these helpless creatures were shot, who, being unable to fly with their children, had taken shelter in the ravines and woods. The European troops, not being able to distinguish them at first, from the men, fired indiscriminately; which created great horror and indignation in the country.

"The number of cattle captured by this commando was very considerable, nearly thirty thousand; and these mostly taken from S'Lhambi's followers. They were distributed among such of the boors as had lost cattle by Kaffer depredations during the late disorders. Part were also sold to defray the expense of the commando.

"On the termination of hostilities, the commandant of the frontiers had an interview with Gaika, when it was settled that the country between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers was to be evacuated, and to remain neutral and unoccupied, except by military posts." All the other chieftains deny that Gaika had any authority for making such an arrangement; and hence it constitutes a subject of contention to this day.

PART II.

CHAPTER XI.

Mission to Hinza's tribe—Wreck of the Eole—Chief and retinue—Threatened hostilities—Usefulness of pious interpreters—Circumcised boys—Catechumens—Happy contrast—the king at church—Aspect of congregation—Translation of the Lord's Prayer——Peculiarities of the native tongue—Trying situation of the late Dr. Vanderkemp—Awful end of his persecutors—Licentiousness of chiefs—Ceremony over the sick—Interview with Voosani—A Temboo bedroom—Arduousness of a Caffrarian mission—A Fengoo sorcerer—Establishment of the Temboo mission—Commerce increased.

Determined if possible to extend our missionary sphere into Hinza's* territories, Messrs. Shaw, Shrewsbury, and I visited that chief in the month of December, 1826; and although numerous obstacles seemed at first to lie in our path, we at length succeeded in establishing a mission with him also. Its commencement devolved upon Mr. Shrewsbury, who gave to the station the name of Butterworth, in memory of the late Joseph Butterworth, Esq., M.P., whose zeal in the cause of missions was well known to the Christian Church. In 1829 I was appointed to succeed Mr. Shrewsbury on that station, which afforded me additional opportunities for acquiring information respecting the tribes inhabiting the upper part of the coast. This will perhaps be best communicated in a series of extracts from my Journal, which will likewise set forth various other circumstances connected with the missionary's life in Caffraria:—

Butterworth is about forty miles inland; and one hundred and twenty, at least, from the colonial boundary. The names of the different rivers to the eastward of this

* Although king of Caffraria, he bears no title, nor any name but that given to him at his birth; as in patriarchal times, surnames are here wholly unknown.

point are purely Kaffer; whereas those to the westward are almost all distinguished by terms of Hottentot origin. This fact renders it more than probable, that the different divisions of the Hottentot tribe were, at one period or other, scattered over the face of the country as far as the Kae, at least. Indeed numbers of this class are still everywhere met with among the Kaffers; who, however, generally look down upon them with a degree of contempt.

The territory of Hinza eastward extends as far as the Bashee, or St. John's River; near which the French ship Eole was cast ashore in the early part of 1829. In consideration of the humane attention of his people to the unfortunate sufferers who escaped from the wreck of that vessel, his excellency the governor, Sir Lowry Cole, very laudably presented both him and them with a number of useful articles, as a reward of their services, and as a stimulus to effort in similar cases of emergency. These, consisting of wearing apparel, blankets, hatchets, iron cooking-pots, and beads, &c., were committed to my care; and the chief, together with other parties concerned, having been apprised of this, a numerous assemblage took place at the mission village on Wednesday, the 7th of April (1830), to witness their presentation. Nearly forty of the chief counsellors were in his train, and served as a kind of body guard. With the exception of their long beast-skins, loosely thrown over the shoulders, all were naked; and many of them as ugly and filthy as grease and red ochre could make them. No man brought his spear with him on this occasion; the only weapon (if such it might be called) carried by any of them was the *itonga* or fencing-stick, which is more frequently used as a staff than for any other purpose. All came up in due form, until the procession arrived in front of the mission-house, where they sat down in a circle, and thus remained until I went and saluted their master. A marked respect was paid to him by all around, and numbers servilely cringed in his presence. Every stranger who happened to pass by gave him the salute of honour as they approached; to which, however, custom seemed to require no reply on his part.

After communicating the message of his excellency, along with the presents he had sent, I proceeded to call

his attention to a subject of still greater importance, namely, the existing misunderstanding between himself and Voosani, the Tembu chief, which appeared likely to prove an occasion of war and much bloodshed. I desired to know whether the gathering cloud could not be averted, and a reconciliation brought about, so that peace might be preserved in the land. My worthy predecessor had likewise sent him a message to the same effect; hence our joint remonstrance seemed for the moment to fetter him. Nevertheless, aided by his privy counsellors, who sat on each side of him, and by whispering acted as a kind of prompters, he soon contrived an answer, and most shrewdly evaded the force of all that we had said.

"It is true," said he, "that a fire is kindling; that two great men are quarrelling; that Hinza and Voosani are angry with each other. But it is not true that Hinza is seeking a quarrel; that he delights in going to war with his neighbour, or in destroying his neighbour's men. The *Abafundis* (teachers) must this day know, and the governor must this day know, that my neighbour is my enemy; that he has stolen from me great numbers of cattle; and that within the last two or three weeks he has killed thirteen of my warriors, besides two boys that were tending the herds. I thank you for your counsel; I shall not go to battle without previously informing you. But be not surprised if these bloody things some time or other fill a man with rage: wonder not if you hear one day of a great man rising in his wrath to do terrible things!"

His council, and indeed the whole assembly, were all attention while he thus spoke. I then explained, and informed him, that while, on the one hand, we were by no means desirous of interfering with any political matter or public measure concerning the nation, on the other, we were bound, as ministers of Christ, in every possible way to promote "peace on earth and good-will among men." And having perceived that a flame was rising, we were anxious to quench it, lest the people around us should be thereby consumed. These discussions continued from about 1 o'clock P.M., until a little before sun set, when he left us in the most friendly manner. Just as the palaver ended, Mrs. Kay had tea in readiness: hence I invited him to take a cup with us; but this he feared to do, as his magical physicians had

told him that his late sickness had originated in something which he had eaten with the white people at the mission village. "The sugar," said he, "I know to be sweet; and the tea doubtless good, seeing that you drink it: but they say Hinza must eat alone."

Saturday 10*th.*—Four of the warriors were this morning sent to communicate very serious intelligence. Another of their comrades and two lads had been barbarously slain by a predatory band belonging to the neighbouring tribe. One of the sufferers however, although mortally wounded, survived until the following morning, when his companions went to fetch him home. He had secreted himself in the forest during the night, and on their arrival was but just alive. Scarcely had they got him upon the back of the animal taken to carry him, before the "relentless foe" rushed forth from another part of the wood, and obliged them instantly to flee. The poor dying lad was now precipitated to the ground, and left to perish: the enemy soon afterward came up, and mercilessly mangled him in a manner too shocking to describe.

All this was related with as much seriousness, as if they were really and greatly distressed by the loss of those that had fallen; whereas, their main object evidently was to convince me of the absolute necessity of a general war; and that, because a few of their number had been killed, hundreds of their opponents ought to be slain. It now therefore became indubitable that our remonstrances had, at least, proved a means of checking their sanguinary designs.

Tuesday, 13*th.*—It is not less pleasing than encouraging to observe, that those of our interpreters who are truly converted to God, are frequently found boldly, though unostentatiously, addressing the multitudes upon divine subjects, and fearlessly answering the objections that are urged by gainsayers against the gospel. The substance of our sermons being by them familiarly reiterated amid the different groups around, the seed of truth is much more extensively spread abroad, than even the missionary himself may be ready to imagine.

One of them this morning walked over to the chief's residence, which is about a mile from the mission-house, and there met with a considerable number of the Amapakati, or great men, gathered together. He immediately began to interrogate them respecting the reasons

why they kept at such a distance from the mission village, and were so seldom seen in God's house on a Sabbath-day. Some pleaded in excuse their ignorance of the day on which the Sabbath fell; others, the distance at which they resided; and a third class plainly and candidly confessed that they saw nothing which was either profitable or desirable in any of our services. "The great word," said one, "is calculated to lessen our pleasures, and diminish the number of our wives: to this we can never consent." When, by a simple statement of facts, which at once demonstrated the injurious tendency and beastly character of their polygamous custom he had in a great measure refuted their arguments on this head, they shifted their objections to other grounds. A grand stratagem of the wicked one now discovered itself; and it became fully manifest that many of these deluded men were deterred from coming near us by a dread of sickness and death.

Several of the Caffrarian chiefs who had long been less or more in habits of intercourse with Europeans, having recently dropped off, a notion has become generally prevalent that it was their intimacy with white men which had, in some unknown manner, rendered them thus subject to the sway of death. In attacking this "strong-hold" of superstition, our Christian warrior had recourse to very simple arguments. "First," said he, "if intercourse with white men be the cause of sickness and death, how comes it to pass that we, who live with them, eat with them, talk with them, and labour for them daily, do not all die? And, secondly, how happens it that both chiefs and people, young as well as old, who have always lived at a distance, and never had any intercourse with them whatever, not only fall sick, but die too? Where are our great chiefs Palo, Kahabi, and Khauta? Did they live for ever?" These questions completely silenced them; and after pausing for some time, one of them arose and frankly acknowledged their ignorance, saying, "*Utixo* (God) hath given the great book to the whites; but not to the blacks: therefore are we this day so foolish."

Friday, 23*d*.—In the course of the forenoon we were visited by the Amakwata. All came riding upon large calves and pack-oxen, which they manage with astonishing dexterity. Having approached within a certain distance of the village, they dismounted, and sat down

on the side of the opposite hill, where they remained for several hours. Altogether they formed a most grotesque group, every one being daubed, according to custom, with white clay from head to foot. This seems to constitute the visible sign of their uncleanness, and is a practice connected with the rite of circumcision, which obtains among the Boochuana tribes also.

It was now three months since the painful operation of "cutting off their foreskins" was performed; and, agreeably to established usage, they were regarded as standing without the pale of society. None of them were allowed to enter any house or hamlet, excepting the one erected for them, during the whole term of their novitiate. This is usually determined by the appearance of the great northern constellation *Izilimela*, or Pleiades; for which the poor lads were beginning to look as anxiously as the Mohammedan does for the new moon, which terminates the fast of Ramadan. They were all very fine youths, about twenty in number: the eldest appeared to be seventeen or eighteen years of age, and the youngest about twelve. The principal boy in the train was a chief's son, and the king's nephew. Their having been circumcised along with this member of Cæsar's family will constitute the boast of his companions in future years. All dwelt together during the period of their novitiate, and were attended only by the person who performed the operation. He had the sole charge of them, and was required to dress their wounds, prepare their food, and direct their amusements, which were chiefly of a gymnastic and warlike character. On being restored to society again, their temporary dwelling must be immediately burnt, their bodies washed with pure water, and afterward anointed with some kind of unctuous matter. New garments are then put upon them, and each is presented with spears by his friends, or by the chief, who henceforth ranks them among the number of his warriors.

In the evening we held our weekly prayer-meeting, at which a goodly number of the natives attended. Three of them prayed most earnestly for the conversion of their ruler, and that he might soon become an example of holiness to his people.

May 4th.—I met the catechumens, whose earnest desire for salvation was evinced in the strongest and most encouraging manner. Had any been here present who

are at all doubtful as to the mind of a black being susceptible of the power of divine grace or of the enlightening influences of the Spirit of God, I doubt not but they would have stood confounded, if not convinced. "I am like a withered tree," said a tottering old woman, "which *Utixo enkulu* might justly have cut down, and cast into the fire; for my sins are both great and many." A young Fengoo, who had been driven from his native country by the wars and commotions of the northern tribes, and who now discovered the gracious hand of Providence which had been over him in a remarkable manner, while in the desert, gave utterance to his feelings by strong cries and tears. He was naturally of a very intrepid and independent spirit; but, when engaged in the worship of God, his lion-like fierceness seemed gradually to melt down into the mildness of a lamb. After closing the meeting, I retired to my study, and there sat musing until a late hour. While thus occupied, sounds and circumstances of a very different character again and again arrested my attention. The night was exceedingly calm; the stars, with their usual brightness, glittered in the firmament; and every thing around me wore the aspect of perfect serenity. But amid this pleasing stillness, so favourable to contemplation, I heard a voice, yea, voices; and these were the voices of a few poor blacks, who, after chatting around their evening fires in the huts hard by, were closing the day with hymns of praise and united prayer to Heaven. One of the verses which they sang, and which they again and again repeated, was the following:—

"*'t Geloof bemint Hem, en beschouwt,*
Zijn mart'ling, dood, en pijn;
Die zaak wordt ons nooit oud noch koud,
Tot dat wij bij Hem zijn."

TRANSLATION.

"Faith loves the Saviour, and beholds
His martyrdom and pain;
The sight shall ne'er be old nor cold,
Until we with him reign."

At the very moment, however, when these were thus engaged, the pagan inhabitants of a neighbouring hamlet were performing one of their heathenish ceremonies, and making the surrounding valleys echo with their melancholy *lavoltas*.

Saturday, 15*th*.—Hinza came to see us this afternoon; and observing some of the women busy thrashing, he entreated that we would give him a basket of corn for supper. To convince me that he was exceedingly hungry, he contracted himself, and affected to say that his stomach was perfectly empty. This Kaffer monarch is no more ashamed importunately to beg than the lowest mendicant in the streets of London. Just as he came up several of the natives were about receiving their wages for work done during the week; but every one literally trembled at the thought of my producing any thing in his presence, lest he should cast an envious eye upon their earnings, and deprive them of the whole. Not, indeed, that he would forcibly seize them; but, such is his power and their thraldom, that whatever he might request they would scarcely dare to refuse.

Sunday, 16*th*.—According to his promise yesterday afternoon, the king attended divine service to-day, accompanied by several of his warriors; but it was evidently an irksome task both to him and them. He evinced considerable uneasiness while the commandments were read, and more especially when I came to the sixth, seventh, and tenth, which strike at the very root of many of their abominable practices. To him prayer was manifestly a strange work; and, like that of most of the noble and mighty of other lands, his spirit was too haughty to admit of his bending the knee before God. Hence he kept his seat, although almost all around him knelt. Such indifference in him is not indeed very surprising, seeing that he is utterly ignorant of the Divine Majesty; but what shall we say of those who have the revelation of truth in their hands, who have been in the habit of attending a place of worship from their infancy, and who nevertheless constantly approach the Most High in a manner equally irreverent and heathenish!

The appearance of our Sabbath-day congregations is both novel and interesting. With the exception of a few individuals who have obtained European apparel, all appear in their native costume. Upon entering the chapel, however, every one wraps his mantle closely round him, so as to appear as decent as possible. The men take their places on one side of the room, and the women on the other, while the children fill up the aisles and spaces between. All being seated, either upon low

benches or mats, laid on the floor, we usually commence with a hymn; every two lines of which the whole congregation repeats after the preacher, previously to their being sung. The words being thus impressed upon their minds, the majority soon become able to repeat the whole from memory; and this delightful part of the service is rendered still more so by the sight of old men and children endeavouring to join in the sacred song. All eyes are upon us, and every one strives to imitate the movements of our lips.

Singing being ended, the people kneel down, and, with their faces on the ground, observe the strictest silence during the time of prayer. Our Lord's Prayer having been translated into Kaffer, we generally make a point of using it on all public occasions, so that many of the natives themselves, from frequently hearing it, have committed it to memory, and may often be heard repeating it in their houses. A copy of the translation may here serve as a specimen of the language:—

Ubawo wetu osezulwini, malidunyiswe igama lako. Ubukulu bobukosi bako mabuze. Ubunyameko bako mabubeko ezweni apa, kubendzhinga sezulwini. Sipe isonka setu semihla gemihla. Sixolele ezonweni zetu, dzhingabo sibaxoleleyo ezonweni zabo kuti. Ungasisi entum bezweni, usikulule emcipikweni; ukuba ubukulu bobukosi bubobako, namanhla angawako, nobuncwalisa bobako, bungunapakade. Amen.

After prayer the decalogue is read every Sunday morning, and all present repeat the responses. To hear an assembly of half-naked pagans, whose ears the sound of Jehovah's name has but just reached, crying with one voice, *O Inkosi enkulu; sinika ufefe lwako pezukwetu; jika inkliziyo zetu, ukuba sicine lomtetu* ("Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law"), is much more affecting than can be described. Some passage of Scripture is then explained in as simple a manner as possible, and the service concluded, as it was begun, with singing and prayer.

Upon leaving the house of God, it is their invariable practice immediately to retire as if for the purpose of ejaculatory prayer. This custom appears to have been enjoined upon them by Makanna, whose extraordinary career we have already noticed; and its influence is such that the most rude and untractable now conform to

it. It is easy, however, to distinguish between those that mock and those that pray. While the former irreverently throw themselves down in groups within a few yards of the door, and sometimes jestingly ask, "Where is God? when shall we see him?" &c., the latter hide themselves among the trees, in the recesses of the rock, or in the depths of the ravine, and from thence cry, in the simple language of one of their hymns,—

Vula inkliziyo zetu,	Open thou our hearts,
Kanyisa amehlo etu;	Enlighten thou our eyes;
Sipe ufefe olukulu;	Give us, Lord, thy favour,
Funqula izono zetu.	And take our sins away.

From the above specimens the reader will be enabled to judge of the general aspect and sound of the Kaffer tongue, which "appears to be the remnant of something far beyond that of a savage nation. In the enunciation it is soft, fluent, and harmonious; it has neither the monotonous mouthing of the savage, nor the nasal and guttural sounds that prevail in almost all the European tongues. It is as different from that of the Hottentot as the latter is from the English. It is singular enough that both the one and the other should have obtained a name that never belonged to them. The word Kaffer could not be pronounced by one of this nation, having no sound of the letter R in his language. A *Koffray* among the Indians is an infidel, a pagan; and was a general name applied by the earlier voyagers to those people, in whom they did not perceive any features of a particular religion; but the origin of the name Hottentot seems not yet to have been ascertained."*

Although, like most other barbarous dialects, limited in its range, it is nevertheless exceedingly ductile, and capable of innumerable inflections, and new combinations: in this respect it resembles the classic rather than our modern European tongues. The following example of the conjugation of a verb may perhaps give a better idea of its character than a mere list of words or phrases would do:—

* Barrow's Travels, vol. i. p. 172.

Ukubiza, to call.

PRESENT.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1 *Diabiza*, I call.	*Siabiza*, We call.
2 *Uabiza*, Thou callest.	*Neabiza*, Ye call.
3 *Eabiza*, He calls.	*Piabiza*, They call.

IMPERFECT.

1 *Dibendibiza*, I called.	*Sibesibiza*, We called.
2 *Ubenubiza*, Thou calledst.	*Nebenebiza*, Ye called.
3 *Ebenebiza*, He called.	*Pebepebiza*, They called.

PERFECT.

1 *Dabandabiza*, I have called.	*Sabesabiza*, We have called.
2 *Ubanabiza*, Thou hast called.	*Nabenabiza*, Ye have called.
3 *Eabaeabiza*, He has called.	*Pabepabiza*, They have called.

PLUPERFECT.

1 *Dikandabiza*, I had called.	*Sikasabiza*, We had called.
2 *Ukanabiza*, Thou hadst called.	*Nekanabiza*, Ye had called.
3 *Ekeabiza*, He had called.	*Pakapabiza*, They had called.

FUTURE.

1 *Dobiza*, I shall or will call.	*Sobiza*, We shall call.
2 *Uobiza*, Thou shalt call.	*Nobiza*, Ye shall call.
3 *Eobiza*, He shall call.	*Pobiza*, They shall call.

POTENTIAL.

1 *Dingabiza*, I may, can, or might call.	*Singabiza*, We may, can, or might call.
2 *Ungabiza*, Thou mayst, &c., call.	*Nangabiza*, Ye may, can, or might call.
3 *Engabiza*, He may, &c. call.	*Pangabiza*, They may, &c. call.

IMPERATIVE.

1 *Mandibiza*, Let me call.	*Masibiza*, Let us call.
2 *Mäubiza*, Do thou call.	*Manibiza*, Do ye call.
3 *Mäebiza*, Let him call.	*Mabibiza*, Let them call.

PASSIVE FORM.

1 *Dibizwe*, I am called.	*Sabizwe*, We are called.
2 *Ubizwe*, Thou art called.	*Nebizwe*, Ye are called.
3 *Ebizwe*, He is called.	*Pabizwe*, They are called.

By affixing the syllable *na*, a verb is put into the interrogative; as *Dibizena*, "Do I call?" And the following is the form in which it assumes the negative, viz.:—

PRESENT.

Andibiza, I call not.
Akubiza, Thou callest not.
Asibiza, We call not.
Nosibiza, Ye call not.
Pakabiza, They call not.

PERFECT.

Andibizanga, I have not called.

PASSIVE.

Andibizwanga, I was not called.

Corresponding with the first letter or syllable of its nominative, a verb receives a prefix: as *Hamba*, to go; *Untana uahamba*, the child goes; *Indodo ihamba*, the man goes; *Ihashi iahamba*, the horse goes; *Ikobo ihamba*, the ox goes; *Zinkobo ziahamba*, the oxen go, &c.

Adjectives and adverbs in general undergo the same variations, partaking of the prefixes of the substantives conjoined with them. The nouns have also diminutives analogous to the *je* in Dutch: as *indodo*, a man; *indodona*, a little man.*

There is, however, one remarkable peculiarity in the language, which renders it difficult of acquirement by Europeans; and which, as my worthy brother missionary Mr. Boyce observes, may be termed "the *euphonic* or *alliteral* concord. One principal word in a sentence governs the initial letters or syllables of the other words; this is independent of any grammatical concord or variety of inflexion: thus, in speaking the language, the following points must be ascertained, in order to ensure correctness. First, the principal or governing word in a sentence; secondly, the principal letter in that word, to the sound of which the initial letters, or syllables, of the other words must be assimilated; thirdly, the changes which must be made in the initial letters or syllables of the word which is governed by this euphonic concord; and, fourthly, the words which remain uninfluenced by this euphonic concord. Children brought up in the country, and who learn the language as their mother-tongue, will, of course, become perfectly acquainted with it; and such, when grown up, if pious and devoted to the work, will undoubtedly make the most efficient schoolmasters, translators, and missionaries."

As already remarked, until modern intercourse with Europeans was opened, the natives of this part of Africa had never seen or heard of such a thing as a book, nor had any idea of a written character. This is a difficulty which even the apostles had not to encounter; or, at least, not to an equal extent. When Paul had planted infant Christian churches, his inspired epistles partially supplied the lack of constant pastoral superintendence; and the Old Testament and the gospels being already in

* See Thompson's Travels, p. 366, 367, vol. i.; and likewise Lichtenstein's Remarks in the Appendix to his Travels.

circulation in a tongue very generally understood by those to whom he ministered, they were daily nourished up in good doctrine, by reading for themselves the word of eternal life. And, at the present day, in the East almost all nations have their literature; and native translators can be found. In Northern Africa also, the religion of the false prophet has preserved something of an acquaintance with a written language: but here the nations have no record of their religion, or superstitions, or laws, or customs, or history. Their sole knowledge is traditionary knowledge. Every book is alike to them a sealed book.

The difficulty of translating the Scriptures under such circumstances can hardly be exhibited in too strong a light. It is labour indeed. A missionary sits down with his interpreter, who cannot read a single line of the Word of God in any language; and perhaps his knowledge of divine things is very imperfect, and some of his notions erroneous. He opens the sacred volume, and has to translate that, in the first instance, into barbarous Dutch, that his interpreter may comprehend its meaning; and then his interpreter tells him how that barbarous Dutch ought to be worded in the Kaffer language. And thus, every verse being a double translation, not only is the progress exceedingly slow, but, it may be, in several instances, after all care and caution have been employed, the genuine sense is not given, or in only a very imperfect manner. With this translation the missionary stands up to read a portion of the Word of God; for his interpreter cannot read it; and here a defect in the pronunciation of words, entirely dissimilar in their sound to any in his own language, occasions a further deterioration of his labours; so that, after all, only some parts of what he has accomplished are understood by the people.

Monday, 24*th*.—The mission stations in Caffraria literally constitute folds, surrounded by evil spirits as well as by beasts of prey; and all that rally round our standard are like so many sheep gathered together out of the wilderness. Within the last few days several have been added to our numbers; among whom is one whose case is worthy of particular notice. She is an aged Hottentot, who was baptized by the late Mr. Vanderkemp about thirty years ago. During the short time spent by that devoted missionary among the Kaffer

tribes, he taught her and two or three other females a knowledge of letters. This she afterward improved by assiduous application, so that she was at length enabled to read the sacred Scriptures; a copy of which, presented by her venerable tutor, she still retains to this very day. Although from that time to this she had never enjoyed the privilege of sitting under a Christian ministry, it would, nevertheless, appear that she ever retained a sense of religion, and a very strong attachment to her Bible. On hearing of the establishment of Butterworth, she anxiously strove to get her heathenish husband (Lochenberg) into the mind for removing to the mission village, that she might once more hear the gospel, and get her poor chi'dren instructed. But to this he would never consent, well knowing that his deeds were of such a character as would not bear the light. The measure of his iniquity, however, being full, the hand of violence was permitted to remove him out of the way some months ago; and the shocking circumstances connected with his death constitute a striking comment upon that passage of holy writ, "Consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver."

He was one of the Dutch farmers who fled from the colony about the time when Mr. Vanderkemp was endeavouring to commence his mission. Professing great regard for the latter on account of his ministerial character, these fugitives flocked around him, moved when he moved, and encamped where he encamped. They had not been with him long, however, before his faithfulness aroused determined enmity; and they secretly strove to injure him in every possible way. Although some of them had taken native wives, and all been obliged to take refuge in the territories of the natives, their deep-rooted prejudices against the latter still continued, insomuch that Mr. Vanderkemp's preaching to them rendered him contemptible in their eyes. "Whenever they saw him," said old Saartje, "go into the bush for prayer or meditation, one or other of the *Christi mensche* (Christians) immediately ran into his tent to steal. His chests were frequently broken open, and his money taken away, until at last he had scarcely *dublejees* (pence) sufficient to carry him back to the colony."

It does not appear that any one of this party died a natural death. "Faber," said my informant, who was

well acquainted with all the circumstances, "was afterward hung in the colony as a rebel. Buis wandered about among the tribes, murdering and plundering, until he himself was murdered. Botha was killed by the Kaffers, at the instigation of his companion. The hut in which Bezuidenhoud slept was one night fired by the natives, and he was burnt to death. The Irishman (a deserter connected with the band), together with one of his children, was also burnt to ashes while asleep, by one of the native women with whom he had lived;" and, as already intimated, Lochenberg himself, "whom vengeance suffered not to live," was literally cut to pieces by the Amakwabi about the middle of 1829.

Monday, 31*st*.—We were visited by Boohoo, the king's brother, accompanied by Hinza himself. In the course of conversation, I represented to the former the evil consequences that were likely to result from the predatory system still persisted in by certain parties of his people, who had been committing very serious depredations upon the frontier colonists. Agreeably to my request, he promised to warn them of their danger, and to take such steps as might tend to prevent similar deeds in future, so that peace might be preserved in the land.

Some weeks previously this chieftain sent to inform me that he was very unwell, and about calling in one of the wise women, to ascertain the cause of his sickness. I now therefore reminded him of the circumstance, being anxious to expose the vanity of their superstitious confidence in those lying pretenders, and to convince him that the effectual removal of affliction could only be ensured by means to which the Almighty would vouchsafe his blessing. While I expatiated on the necessity of prayer, their need of the enlightening influences of the Holy Spirit, the uncertainty of life, and the solemnities of judgment, the king (who stood by all the time) sneered, and walked off. Observing this, the interpreter, who was only one of our occasional hearers, was greatly intimidated, as he expected that Hinza would, in some way or other, make him the object of his fury, on account of the plainness of my sermon. So far did his fears gain the ascendency, that he was not able to proceed; hence I was necessitated to call upon another individual to enable me to conclude. A female member of society, who fortunately happened

to be standing in the crowd, cheerfully came forward, and nobly supplied his place. When I had concluded, Boohoo desired me to present him with something, that his "wives might see that he had been with a friend."

June 1*st*.—While riding past Hinza's residence to-day, a number of young girls came running out of the different huts, crying, *Basala*, *basala*, "A present, a present!" Shocking to relate, many of these poor children no sooner attain the age of puberty than they are dragged to the chief's hamlet, and there kept for purposes the most vile. Facts of this description clearly set forth the dreadful corruption of manners, and fully account for that determined opposition to the gospel which is, in one form or another, generally evinced in the high places of the earth.

Wednesday, 2*d*.—The door was opened into the territories of the Amatembu, whose chief had frequently been consulted upon the subject of missions, but to little if no purpose. He was visited by Messrs. Brownlee and Rennie, of the London and Glasgow Missionary Societies, nine or ten years ago; by Messrs. Shaw and Whitworth, in 1824; and by several others since that period: but his replies to the main question were generally somewhat evasive and unsatisfactory. The establishment of a station, however, among his people having been again proposed, he fully and unhesitatingly acceded thereto, on the 17th of April last. We were led to anticipate this decision from various circumstances which occurred two or three months previously; and hence our excellent fellow-labourer Mr. Haddy was already appointed to the work, and had encamped within about a day's journey of his residence.

Being requested to accompany him to the scene of his labours, I joined his encampment the night before last; and we yesterday travelled northward across a fine tract of country, which had been in a great measure vacated, in consequence of the expected war between Hinza and Voosani. Early in the evening we arrived at one of the Temboo villages, and there remained during the night. The inhabitants received us rather coolly; but on learning who we were, their conduct assumed an entirely different character. Having kindled our fires, and they having completed their evening's work among the herds, all were assembled for divine service. A hymn was then

sung, and after prayer Mr. Haddy delivered a short and appropriate sermon. Perfect silence reigned in the desert around, and the moon shone delightfully bright above, while we led this sable group to the contemplation of divine things. Soon after the people dispersed, their captain presented us with a fat cow for slaughter. This was a voluntary act of kindness; for which, however, the donor expected to receive an equivalent, such reciprocity of friendly tokens being, as we have before remarked, the customary mode of forming attachments, and establishing friendly connexions throughout the whole of Caffraria.

The night was exceedingly cold, which rendered me glad to take refuge in one of their huts, although by no means a very pleasant bed-chamber. Its diameter was about ten feet, and besides myself, companion, and a dog or two, there were no less than eight Kaffers laid in different positions on the floor. At our feet, and in the centre, we had a good large fire, which was kept burning during the whole of the night. Had there been no other company, the place would have been tolerable; but, to say nothing of swarms of mice, vermin of various descriptions ever and anon disturbed our slumbers, and made us frequently long for morning.

Just as day dawned my curiosity was excited by sounds of a very doleful kind. I therefore inquired respecting the probable cause; but, although evidently well acquainted therewith, my companions were altogether unwilling to describe it. At length an aged female, whose headdress was in an unusually dishevelled state, and whose mien was that of sorrow, came and looked in at the door-way of our hut. On asking what was meant by the strange song we heard, she unhesitatingly stated that it was occasioned by the sickness of one of the women. Hearing this I arose, and, taking the interpreter with me, repaired to the house of mourning. It was crowded with native females, who, seated on the floor, were engaged in singing a most melancholy air. In time to this, all moved gently backward and forward, each keeping up an easy clapping of the hands. It is somewhat remarkable that this antique custom of clapping the hands, of which the Scriptures make frequent mention, in connexion with the different festivals of the ancients, should form so prominent a feature in almost all the ceremonies of the heathen in

this country. Seldom or never do the people assemble for purposes either of mirth or mourning, to deprecate national calamities, or to unite in an expression of joyful feeling, but their orgies are accompanied with a simultaneous clapping of hands by the female part of the throng. On this occasion there were only two men present; one of whom was employed as a kind of drummer, beating with a small stick upon an exceedingly large shield.

When I entered, the patient, like the rest of the company, was seated; but very few minutes elapsed ere she arose, and danced until completely exhausted. She then sat down again; and, after resting awhile, rose a second time, and with an *itonga*, or fencing-stick in her hand, exerted herself to the very uttermost, and until so weak that she was scarcely able to stand. The company were then desired to keep silence while she addressed them. The substance of her speech, uttered in a very feeble tone of voice, was as follows, viz.—"Night brought upon me a dream delightful. *Utixo* (God) I saw. By *Utixo* our dwelling-place was visited, because his children here slept. In the night they thus sang" (here she affected an imitation of the tune we sang to one of the hymns last evening): "to them let us listen. I am a sick woman still. Close your ceremony."

This was no sooner said than the shield was carried away, and the assembly broke up. While she continued to speak all sat in profound silence; the conclusion, however, of each sentence was answered by a general response, and the shield was at the same time significantly struck by the master of the ceremony. Such are the means upon which these deluded souls rely for help in the time of need, and such their only source of comfort in the day of trouble. Alas! after all they are constrained to cry, "I am sick still." O that this cry were heard throughout all Christendom; for verily "the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint."

A little before four o'clock, P.M., we arrived on the banks of the Umgwala, a beautiful river, running to the eastward, and falling into the Bashee, or St. John's, a few miles below where we halted. This is certainly a most valuable stream; and its deep waters give it, in many places, quite the appearance of an English canal The general aspect of the country on each side is somewhat naked, there being scarcely any trees or bush to be

seen, excepting on the declivities of the neighbouring mountains; and these are but scantily clothed. Nevertheless, there is abundance of fine pasturage; and likewise a dense population, which, with the missionary, is the grand object of attention.

Being informed that Voosani's residence was about a mile distant, we proceeded to apprize him of our arrival. The whole of his regal establishment consisted of four or five small huts and a cattle-fold; on the lower side of which a number of his counsellors were squatted in a circle on the ground, engaged apparently in conference on state affairs. The heads and faces of some of these courtiers were daubed with red ochre, in a manner that rendered them absolutely frightful. The chief's seat was distinguished by a goat's skin spread upon the ground: he himself was absent at the moment of our arrival; but soon afterward made his appearance, and received us with apparent satisfaction.

His disposition being somewhat taciturn, he said but little; and seemed, indeed, more inclined to sleep than to talk. Being reminded that we had been travelling, and were both hungry and thirsty, he ordered a basket of milk to be set before us. This, like the "*beben*" of the Arabs, constitutes the Kaffer's standing dish; and before the stranger partakes of it, the servant or host usually takes a draught himself, in order to show that it possesses no deleterious quality. This custom, in all probability, owes its origin to the general want of confidence which, more or less, pervades every bosom; and which often gives rise to the most tormenting fears that "death is indeed in the pot!"

Thursday, 3*d*.—My beehive-like sleeping-room last night was much of the same character as the one already described, excepting that it was somewhat cleaner, having been more recently built. To keep the cold out, our swarthy companions deemed a dense cloud of smoke indispensably necessary. This they inhaled without any apparent inconvenience, and, as if to render the air still more impure, when day began to dawn they added to it the noxious vapours of tobacco, and of a species of wild hemp which operates as a powerful narcotic. Hence, on awaking, I found one puffing out his fumes on my right and another on the left. Their various contrivances in the enjoyment of this filthy gratification were both amusing and disgusting; for, in the absence of regular

pipes, beast-horns and water-melons were substituted. The horn being perforated on one side, a small reed is obliquely fixed in it, and a clay head on the upper end of that, wherein the noxious weed is put. The horn is then almost filled with water; through which element the fumes are drawn in amazing quantities. While the smoke is yet in the mouth, a little water is also taken in, and again spouted out through a reed of longer dimensions, and thus the operation proceeds. The Amatemboo pulverize their tobacco, and use it principally in the form of snuff, of which they are extravagantly fond. They generally take it in small ivory or horn spoons made for the purpose, and in such quantities as to cause the water to flow from their eyes in streams.

Just as we were sitting down to breakfast, the chief and his retinue came marching up to our tent; he was therefore invited to partake with us, but declined. While prayer was made, and the Scriptures read, both he and his warriors behaved remarkably well. We then proceeded to explain to him the object of our errand, making him the customary presents, and at the same time requesting that he would point out a spot which would serve as a place of habitation for their teacher. He hereupon very frankly told us, that he was altogether incompetent to determine that point, not knowing what kind of situation would be most eligible. "But," said he, "the country is before you: look with your own eyes, and let your own hearts determine." With this leave we saddled our horses, and immediately rode off to survey the land around us.

The reader will perceive that our work here is, in its details, widely different from that of our brethren in civilized countries. There, on coming to a town or village, they have no sooner obtained a house or barn to preach in than their main business is begun; and secular affairs happily demand but a comparatively small portion of their attention. Here, however, especially in the commencement of a mission, temporal concerns crowd upon the missionary in such a manner as to perplex him exceedingly. There being no coach, nor stage-wagon (much less palanquins), to convey him to his destination, he has, of course, to provide his own vehicle. This, for some time at least, constitutes his only dwelling, containing his furniture, library, provisions, and family besides. To draw it, he must procure

oxen; and the care of these in a strange land, infested by wolves, and inhabited by men who deem it no crime to take the whole from him, if any opportunity present itself, is no very pleasant charge. But independently of the danger of their being stolen, the want of water, or the scarcity of grass, often induces the poor animals to stray, which frequently occasions great loss of time, and also much trouble. His wagon likewise gets out of repair; it breaks down on the road, and he is far from either wheelwrights or smiths. Consequently both hands and head must be set to work in a manner to which he was hitherto, in all probability, an entire stranger. He is detained by rivers that were, perhaps, never before crossed by any wheeled vehicle whatever; a ford therefore must be made, and huge stones rolled out of the path. The forest affords him no passage; and hence he must cut his way through. The mountain must be climbed: and little would it avail, if, instead of setting his shoulder to the wheel, he should stand gazing upon it, saying, "I came not to do work of this kind, to waste my time, to spend my strength, and spoil my hands in this manner. I came only to preach the gospel." No wonder if Satan should laugh at language like this, well knowing, that if he can arrest the progress of the gospel car by the dread of a bridgeless stream, the steeps of an African mountain, the terrific appearance of a savage people, or by circumstances still more trivial, multitudes of immortal spirits would be kept in darkness, and he would have little to fear from preachers who cannot encounter difficulties of this kind.

The situation of a female missionary, likewise, is here peculiarly arduous, and often trying in the extreme. Not only does she require all the zeal of a Christian, but also all the fortitude and spirit of a heroine. There being no post or regular medium of communication from one part of the interior to another, the missionary is sometimes separated from his family for weeks together, without so much as hearing a word from them, or they of him. The hostile disposition of clans whom he may have to visit, the generally disturbed state of the country, and the defenceless position in which the very nature of his work necessarily places him, are, of course, circumstances which naturally tend to excite in his family fears of no ordinary kind. Moreover, rumour represents him as being in imminent danger, and again, as having fallen

by the hand of violence; consequently, apprehension, in the entire absence of all means of immediately ascertaining the fact, speedily heightens into distraction. Being on one occasion detained among the more distant tribes for nearly two months, report upon report was circulated that the interpreters, and guide, as well as myself, were all murdered. On arriving within about forty miles of the station, we were informed, that all doubt upon the subject had been removed by a party of natives who had passed the hamlet in which we halted the preceding day, and who pretended an acquaintance with all the particulars of the massacre. We had then been travelling the whole day, and night had come on; which circumstance, coupled with the earnest remonstrances of my little party,—who represented it as certain death to cross the plains after sunset, seeing that the lion and other beasts of prey were prowling about on every hand,—at length prevented my proceeding immediately. But scarcely had day begun to dawn the following morning, before I sallied forth, without either arms or guide, excepting a pocket-compass, leaving my fellow-travellers to bring on the wagon when they had enjoyed the full length of their slumbers. This adventure, however, had wellnigh cost me my life; for having to wade through many miles of deep sand, with a vertical sun in full blaze over-head, I had not accomplished half the journey before my strength began to fail, and an indescribable thirst was induced. Nevertheless, I at length reached the station in safety, and with truly grateful feelings to the great Preserver of men. A few minutes prior to my arrival, one of the missionaries' wives (not knowing that I was at hand) had entered our dwelling to apprize Mrs. Kay of the latest intelligence,—confirming all that had gone before respecting our fate, and to comfort her under the distressing dispensation. At this affecting crisis, while both were standing in the centre of the room, the one relating, and the other weeping, I opened the door, bathed in sweat, covered with dust, and in a state of complete exhaustion. "O dear!" said our friend, "is this he, or is it his ghost?" I must here leave the scene to the reader's imagination, a description of it being not only difficult, but wholly unnecessary.

After riding about in different directions, and examining several places along the banks of the Bashee, we came to a large Fengoo hamlet about half-past four P.M.

Upon our asking for a draught of milk, one of the natives immediately called the captain out of his hut; and on inquiry it appeared that the latter was one of the king's physicians, or rather one of his favourite magicians. He was one of those exiles whom the feuds of the interior had driven among the Kaffer tribes; but seemed to be much more intelligent and cheerful than the generality of his countrymen. In his countenance were indications of considerable shrewdness; but such a load of hair, grease, and filth I never beheld on any African's head before. His black woolly ringlets had, apparently, been drawn out to their utmost length. Lumps of fat, and other offensive substances, hung suspended like so many weights from every part of the wig; and the quantity of vermin borne about by this Temboo quack must have been immense. His *quioffure*, or headdress, consisted of several small bunches fantastically made out of the otter's skin. He was greatly amused with the curiosity his appearance excited in our minds, and laughed heartily at the minuteness of our examinations.

That such men should treat us with kindness and hospitality is truly matter of astonishment, seeing that the gospel strikes at the very root of their gains. He cheerfully presented us with a basket of milk, agreeably to our desire; in return for which, Mr. H. gave him a halfpenny, informing him that the figure thereon was the likeness of our king. This would, doubtless, be polished immediately, and attached to some part of his wig or mantle. Never had the name of Jesus been heard in that glen before; hence their ignorance of divine things was deplorable indeed.

When returning to my hut in the evening I heard a doleful hum, and the clatter of shields, which were indications of affliction in the neighbourhood, and of another of their nocturnal ceremonies. This they were performing in one of the hovels hard by. The group was altogether most grotesque; and in the back part of the place stood a man who was really as frightful as sin could make him. In his left hand were a bundle of spears, round his loins a panther's skin, and on his head a hairy cap of many colours. To the latter were attached a number of small thongs, which hung down his back in the form of a tail; and with these marks of the beast about him he danced, and put himself into a number of

the most disgusting attitudes imaginable, writhing as if in the greatest agony, and, at the same time, keeping up a continual hissing like that of the serpent. When he made a pause I ventured to interrogate him; upon which, he immediately took off some of his trappings and sat down. He very good-naturedly answered all my questions, and did not appear at all offended by my intrusion. "That woman," said he, "is sick; and it is my business to cure." In replying to my remarks on the obvious vanity and utter inefficacy of such a mode of proceeding, he very affectingly said, with a sigh, "Yes; but it is the best means we have: it was the custom of our fathers; what then shall we do? Inkose must remember, the poor Temboo is ignorant; he has not the white man's medicine!" Whatever effect the conversation might have upon their minds I know not; but they did not recommence the ceremony during the night.

Saturday, 5th.—Having yesterday determined on a site for the institution, we this morning proceeded to apprize Voosani of it; but just as Mr. H. and I started for his residence, we met one of his counsellors driving a fat cow, which he had sent as a present. Shortly afterward, he came up himself, accompanied by a number of warriors and chief-captains; upon which we gave him the particulars of our tour and determination. Of this he fully approved; nor was there a dissentient voice raised by any of his courtiers. Consequently, the thing was immediately ratified without further delay. This done, the wagons were prepared, the oxen put to the yoke, and the chief and his council, together with a host of other natives, escorted us to the very spot, publicly recognising and establishing our right of settlement, within his domain, in the sight of all the people. "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things. And blessed be his glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with his glory: Amen, and Amen." Psalm lxxii. 18, 19.

Here then we took our stand, in a populous neighbourhood, and within little more than a mile of the chief's dwelling. In the background there is a ridge of mountains, which slopes gradually off from the summit to the base; and which everywhere presents to view abundance of grass. On each side the hills project from the main chain, like arms thrown out to embrace the

sacred plot. These, however, from their quickly falling off into the plains below, and terminating at almost equal distances, constitute little or no obstruction to the prospect on either hand. In the front, which faces the south-west, there is an extensive prospect, stretching over hill and dale for many miles. To the eastward it is bounded in the distance by the mountains among which the Bashee has formed its sinuous course, and which appear as if rolled, like heaps upon heaps, in all the majestic grandeur that characterizes nature in Africa. Turning to the opposite quarter, the eye rests upon another prodigious chain, whose lofty peaks were in a great measure covered with snow. The sight of this excited no interest in the minds of the natives; but in ours, its glistening whiteness aroused many a happy recollection of "home, sweet home."

Sunday, 6th.—We arose on grounds where the Sabbath was never before kept, and among a people to whom this divine institution had hitherto been altogether unknown. From their infancy, therefore, they had invariably spent it as other days; and, supposing that traffic and gain formed at least one part of our object, numbers visited us at an early hour, bringing with them articles of different kinds for sale. All stood amazed when told that it was the day of the Lord, and that his Word enjoins upon us to do no manner of work therein, but to rest, and keep it holy Of this the king himself was informed, by a messenger whom Mr. H. sent for the express purpose, and who was likewise commissioned to carry the intelligence into all the neighbouring hamlets. Thus, therefore, was proclaimed the first Sabbath in Temboo-land. In the name of the Lord we set up our banners, deeply sensible, with the poet,

"———————— *Nisi Dominus, frustra.*"

Having just received a letter from Mr. Haddy, dated, Clarkeston, Temboo-land, April 16th, 1832, I shall here add an extract or two, which will still more fully show the exceedingly trying circumstances in which the Caffrarian missionary is sometimes placed.

"It is unnecessary," says this excellent fellow-labourer, "to particularize, as though I was writing to one unacquainted with the peculiar situation of missionaries in Southern Africa; but as we were subject to rather extraordinary occurrences, during our journey

to and from the late district meeting, I shall mention one or two of the more prominent, by way of news. On our way to Graham's Town, we found the Fish River high, but passable; and seeing a wagon go through before us, we thought proper to make an attempt also to gain the opposite bank. But, by some mismanagement of the people, the oxen took the wagon into deep water; where, by the strength of the current, it was turned completely upside down; and, by no effort whatever could we get it out. Mrs. H., our little boy, and two English girls were carried to the land; and although obliged to leave the wagon in the water all night, we could not but rejoice that no lives were lost. We slept under a bush by the side of the river. Returning from Graham's Town to our station, we spent the first night near Mr. D.'s place, and the next morning proceeded with every thing as comfortable as is reasonable to expect under such circumstances. Mrs. H., John, and I were on horseback, and a little before the wagon; when, in descending that very gentle declivity, before reaching the plain, which commands a view of Mr. M.'s farm, the bolt that goes through the *voor-stel* and shaft broke; the oxen went on; the wagon ran through towards the streamlet flowing between the mountains, and continued to proceed with increasing velocity down a steep descent, until upset among some large stones. Two native girls were in it at the time: one of them we found enfolded in the bedding, with a few slight scars in the forehead; the other was thrown out to the distance of from twenty to thirty yards. Her head was frightfully cut, but providentially the scull was not fractured. Dr. P. Campbell kindly came out from town in the evening to dress the wound; and, to our great surprise, it is now nearly sound.

"This country continues in much the same state as when you left. The last year was one of great prosperity on all the stations. There is very great and continual intercourse between the Kaffers and the colonists, through the trade in hides, &c., which has increased considerably during the past year. From this much might have been expected; but our hopes must be lowered, when we consider the shocking example set before the natives by many white men. In the mean time, it is unquestionably our duty to persevere; and, as opportunity offers, to continue sowing the Word of

Life. This nation has been greatly scattered and weakened since the death of Voosani. Many of the principal chieftains have gone towards Hinza's domain, thinking there to enjoy rest from the Ficani. The Tambookies are at present apprehending an attack from Fobo, Diko, and Umgeki. O that their troubles might bring them to their senses, and induce them to seek after and acknowledge God!"

CHAPTER XII.

War prevented—Marriage of two Fengoos—Invincible ignorance—Whole country in commotion—Nefarious scheme of Dutch boors—Alarming occurrences on the station—Arrival of hostile bands—Threatened attack upon the mission village—Sabbath greatly disturbed—A thief caught—His trial at Butterworth—Horrid execution—Baptism of six adults—An interesting scene—Exiles—Christian marriage—Peaceful death of a pious native—The funeral.

THE war question between Hinza and Voosani is now happily closed. "We cannot do any thing," said one of these belligerents, "for the Abafundis are in the way." "My neighbour and I," said Hinza, "have, like children, been playing long enough: it is high time for us to act like men, seeing that the enemy" (alluding to the reported approach of invaders from the interior) "is coming down upon us. These are days in which it will not do to divide our forces, because boys quarrel, and dogs bite each other!" Had not kind Providence placed Christian missionaries between these two warlike chieftains, at the very moment when their ire was kindling, many lives must have been lost, much blood shed, and heaps of human bodies left to perish upon the field.

Sunday, 27th.—Two poor Fengoos, who formerly belonged to the Ficani host, presented themselves before the congregation, after morning sermon, desiring to be joined together, as man and wife, in a lawful and proper manner. The peculiar circumstances in which these two individuals had been placed, and by which they had been brought among us, rendered this occurrence more than ordinarily interesting.

After being driven from their country by invaders, and, like thousands more, subjected to all the reverses occasioned by war, to fatiguing wanderings, to hunger, and extreme want, they at length found their way to the mission village, and determined on becoming partners of each other's lot. At the close of the attack made by our troops upon Matuwana's army, in 1828, she was taken captive by one of the Kaffers, and from him redeemed by my worthy predecessor, whose instructions were rendered a blessing to her soul. The man's poverty put it altogether out of his power to procure a wife at the usual price: he therefore rejoiced to find one of his countrywomen, whose person was free from all claims. On his making proposals, however, she gave him distinctly to understand, that, as they were no longer the inhabitants of a mere Kaffer hamlet, but of the "*umzi ka Tixo*," their situation and privileges clearly enjoined upon them the renunciation of heathen customs. She had therefore resolved on becoming a Christian, and on being married, if married at all, after the manner of the Christians. Both came forward very decently dressed in European apparel. Several articles of clothing had been kindly presented to her by Mrs. Shrewsbury; and, knowing that he had none of his own, one of the interpreters very good-naturedly lent him a suit for the occasion.

This young man informed me that he was with the Mantatees, when the Matlhapees and Griquas attacked and shot so many of them near Lattakoo. This fact, therefore, indubitably shows that Matuwana's forces—called Ficani by the Kaffers—formed a branch, at least, of that powerful host of invaders by whom the tribes of the interior were so fearfully disturbed and scattered in 1823–4. To see any of these outcasts in the sanctuary is pleasing indeed; but to see them publicly renouncing their pagan customs, and formally acknowledging the superiority of Christian laws, is truly encouraging.

July 4th.—Accompanied by the interpreter, I visited four or five of the more distant hamlets, and preached to the inhabitants of each, as we went along. Entirely ignorant of the Sabbath, one was busily employed in repairing her house, another in building a new one, and several of the men occupied themselves in the manufacture of wooden implements of agriculture. Nevertheless, the greater part complied with my request, and

immediately ceased working, after its inconsistency with the sacredness of the day had been explained to them.

At one village, however, where we arrived late in the afternoon, a very different spirit manifested itself. Here a goodly number of people were assembled. Some were painting their bodies; others dressing hides; a third class preparing garden posts; and a fourth engaged in idle chit-chat.

No argument whatever being sufficient to induce a cessation of labour, I at length determined to commence preaching, whether they would "hear, or whether they would forbear." A few then sat down, but the greater part continued talking, working, or mocking, almost the whole time. Never did I seem more like a man engaged in ploughing upon a rock, nor do I recollect ever seeing a congregation less impressed by the sound of the gospel. Such invincible ignorance, and manifest hardness, often constrain the missionary to weep in secret places. Vain, indeed, would be all our labours if unaccompanied by Divine influence.

Immediately after the conclusion of divine service, a native one day cried out, "Do you see that tree standing before us?" "Yes."—"It stands firm against the wind?" "Yes."—"Even so do I against your God; nor will I think of serving him; no, nor of going a step to hear the Word you preach until he sends us rain!" It is but seldom that we meet with individuals who will thus openly show forth their contempt of divine things; but, as must be expected, this is manifestly the secret language of multitudes around us. The man was told to beware lest, by such impious conduct, he should in one way or other bring down upon himself the judgments of Heaven. This warning was kept in mind; and some weeks afterward he came with deep dejection and great sorrow depicted in his countenance, saying, it grieved him at the heart that he had ever used expressions like those above mentioned; for the judgments of God had indeed overtaken him. Within the space of a few days no less than fifty-three of his cattle had died in a singular and most unaccountable manner. In the hope of saving the remnant of his herd he removed to another farm, and there used the ordinary enchantments at considerable expense. Nevertheless, thither also did the murrain follow him, and three more were found

dead in his fold soon after his arrival. "Therefore," said he, "it must be the hand of your God that is upon them!"

Saturday, 10*th*.—The colonial troops having recently attacked several native villages in the vicinity of the Buffalo River, much excitement and alarm were thereby occasioned throughout the country. The object of this measure was to recapture cattle that had been stolen from the colonists. But one of the frontier chiefs having been taken prisoner and another shot, together with twelve or thirteen of the warriors, who resisted the soldiery in the execution of their orders, the affair became exceedingly formidable. At Butterworth (eighty or ninety miles from the scene of action) the most exaggerated and romantic stories obtained full credence, the natives being at all times extremely credulous in matters of this kind. The king himself, upon whom the most inflammable reports were daily pouring, was of course greatly unhinged and moved about with suspicious caution. The mischievous and strife-stirring emissaries of the wicked one were now all alert, and assiduously endeavoured to avail themselves of this lamentable affair for the furtherance of various diabolical purposes. The circumstance of a chief having been taken captive seemed to arouse the ire of the nation; and every one became enraged while speaking about it. It was moreover urged by the enemies of missions as a decided proof of the truth of statements that had been made to Hinza by a certain party of boors, somewhat more than two years previously; viz. "that our establishment of a mission in his territory had no good end in view, being merely designed as a snare for his person, and likewise for his people; who, when tamed by the missionaries, would be taken for soldiers by the British government!"

The plans of these evil designing men were mercifully frustrated by Him who ruleth on high, and before whose bar one of their number was shortly afterward called to appear. Notwithstanding the many honourable and praiseworthy instances of true Christian philanthropy which we now meet with among the old Dutch colonists and their descendants, this wicked project sufficiently proves the inveterate enmity that still rankles in the hearts of some against missions to the heathen. Bent upon mischief, and conscious that their deeds were those

of darkness, treachery, and violence, their whole scheme was for a considerable length of time wrapped up in mystery. At length, however, it was brought to light, and its influence counteracted by a series of events alike unforeseen and uncontrollable.

Five leaden bullets and a quantity of gunpowder, sent to the king by the hand of a Hottentot, constituted the emblems of their plot. In explanation of which the messenger was instructed to state that they wished, for special reasons, to settle in some part of his territory; that in the event of his complying with their request they would present him with whatever he might desire; and that both they and their arms would henceforth be wholly at his command. "But," said they, "Hinza must first drive away that cursed thing the school" (the missionary institution), "which is designed to be a trap for him, and likewise for his subjects." They finally entreated him to send a decisive answer by one of his own warriors, whom they promised to meet at a given time near the base of a certain mountain, and from thence send him a present of cattle, dogs, or horses, as he might wish.

This communication was immediately made known by the chief to his old Dutch counsellor (Lochenberg), whom he frequently consulted in matters of moment. The latter, not having much confidence in his countrymen, and fearing they might sooner or later betray him into the hands of justice for his delinquencies in former days, gave his decided opinion against their proposals. The men he knew, and scrupled not to represent them as a dangerous plotting band; "while the school," said he, "though by them denounced as accursed, is a tree, under which Hinza and his children may sit securely!" Such were the sentiments of an ungodly old man, who had little more sincere regard for the mission than the party against whom he was exclaiming; but he had a purpose to serve.

Soon after this occurrence, a military gentleman, accompanied by thirty or forty armed men, arrived at Butterworth on his way into the interior, and desired an interview with Hinza. He was therefore sent for, and came accordingly; but on seeing the officer and his attendants enter the mission-house, where he sat, he was seized with trembling, and so much terrified as to be scarcely able to speak. As the above-mentioned

stratagem was not discovered until afterward, no one could conceive the cause of his trepidation, which unquestionably originated in a fear that the assertions of the boors were about proving too true. The kind demeanour, however, of the strangers, coupled with the introduction of a number of his own counsellors, speedily allayed his perturbation, and rendered him free and communicative. These circumstances, together with the friendly conduct of our troops while passing through his dominions, shortly afterward, tended to convince him of the fallacy of what he had heard, and completely broke the nefarious project.

Again, however, his apprehensions were aroused. Anticipating the influence which tidings of the late expedition might have, the honourable Captain S——, commissioner-general, wrote to me upon the subject, and desired that I would communicate to Hinza the real facts of the case, lest any false rumour should produce an unfavourable impression upon his mind. I did so; and moreover told him that as it was the wish of the colonial government to remain on amicable terms with him, they particularly requested that he would endeavour to keep his people from mingling with those of the neighbouring clans, who were notorious thieves, lest they likewise should one day or other be brought into danger. He received this message with manifest dubiousness, and seemed strongly to suspect that it portended evil rather than good. Many of his own measures and most of his public professions being founded in insincerity, and marked with duplicity, he doubtless concluded that this too must be of a similar character. At this critical moment several formal messages arrived from one of the frontier chiefs likewise; who, incensed against the peaceable inhabitants of the mission villages, because the officers in command had been particularly careful not to disturb them, while prosecuting their march through the country, was anxious to get Hinza to abet him in some desperate measure. Several wicked spirits immediately caught the impulse; and had their power been at all equal to their wishes, they would certainly have done us much harm. But although one or two were men of considerable influence in the tribe, their malice was only permitted to vent itself in angry menaces, and in whispers to one and another signifying their malicious wishes.

In the course of the morning one of the older warriors, who together with three or four others went into the artisan's house, manifested an unusually insolent spirit. After asking Mrs. J—— for a present in a very peremptory and commanding manner, on which account she paid little or no attention to him, he very plainly told her that her backwardness to give him what he wanted was of little use, as the time would arrive when he, for one, should have the pleasure of breaking open the chests, and taking all he wanted. On being requested to explain his meaning, he impudently repeated the same things in the presence of several of our own people, who immediately set down the circumstance as a harbinger of evil. This opinion appeared to be considerably strengthened by the ambiguous but significant hints of one of the workmen. Two or three weeks having elapsed without his coming to work on the station as usual, one of his companions desired to know the reason: upon which he observed, "I cannot say much; I fear to remain in the *eschooli*. There, all must keep awake; keep your ears open; you'll hear something soon. Don't sleep; the fire is kindling. To Hinza it is said, our country has been taken from us, and given to the Hottentots" (alluding to the tract just granted to them on the Kat River). "Word has come to our chief that *Amakosinia* (Kafferland) is now dead; that it is high time to kill every white man and every Hottentot in it; and that Hinza's men, and Gaika's men, and S'Lhambi's men are all one! This is what a chief says, a restless chief, to our great chief. Keep your ears open. This is all I have to say."

Just as we sat down to dinner, Mr. J. came to inform me that the wagon-driver had resolved on "throwing down the whip (resigning his office) unless he could have the company of a number of armed men on his journeys to and from the forest, as the agitated state of the people rendered it, in his opinion, altogether unsafe to go alone. He further stated that he had heard many "strange things;" but not having deemed them worthy of much attention, he had not mentioned them to us, lest, after having unhinged our minds, the whole should prove false and groundless. "But now," said he, "every precaution has become absolutely necessary. I hired a man to complete my hut, but he feared to stay, and has therefore left." It being evident that he had

other grounds for fear besides those above mentioned, I desired him to be candid and communicate all he knew, assuring him that he had no occasion to fear our betraying him.

Rarely indeed can a Kaffer be induced to say any thing that is at all likely to bring him into competition with his superior, as he well knows the dangerous consequences. Nevertheless, when confident that we do not intend to make any prejudicial use of his words, he is ingenuous, and unbosoms himself freely. This firm reliance upon our word and promise in matters of moment is pleasingly manifest among the people on every station, and frequently do instances occur of their confiding in the *umfundis* much more fully than in their own relations.

Our sable friend then proceeded to state, that on the preceding Sabbath one of the king's chief captains had repeatedly declared, in his hearing, that he himself would ere long lay hands upon the society's flock, which was going into the fold at the time he spoke; and that it would soon be seen, likewise, to whose lot the cattle of our people would fall. "Were those of you at a distance," said he, "who can use guns, our work would be easy. As for the whites, they would soon be despatched. Them we could drag out one by one, and a blow on the head with my club would silence the whole!" On another occasion, the same savage fellow was heard saying to his comrades, "When the bell calls them all into *inhlu ka Tixo* (house of God), then will we fall upon them; and of that building will I make a calve-fold." His residence was at some distance from the mission village; nevertheless, he and his attendants were repeatedly observed lurking about our houses, at unusually late hours, with bundles of spears and clubs in their hands. All these little circumstances, coupled with the old warrior's daring conduct in the morning, tended completely to unnerve our small handful of people. Every one anticipated impending harm of some kind, and hence nothing new could transpire without startling them.

Singularly enough, towards evening a circumstance occurred which at first induced us all to think that the apprehended danger was really at hand. Just as the sun went down, a company of armed natives, all strangers, entered the village, and without saluting any one

took their station altogether near one of the huts. These were presently followed up by a second troop, and this by a third, who all came marching in due form, and gathered round the same standard. It soon afterward grew dark, which usually induces every one to creep into some hut or other to enjoy the benefit of the fires; but the strangers remained congregated on the spot where they first halted, huddled up in their skin mantles, and keeping their spears by their side.

Night-shade having fallen, a party branched off from the main body, and in a menacing manner rushed into some of the huts, which they unceremoniously began to ransack, as if in search of something, and bent upon a quarrel. Seeing this, several of the native women flew to the river and adjoining ravines, and there concealed themselves among the bushes, fully expecting that a battle was at hand. Those of our men who had guns immediately armed themselves, and the rest mustered all the spears they had. Knowing that the hei l is a principal object on all such occasions, one division took their stand at the fold-gate; another in a position which enabled them closely to watch the movements of the enemy; while a third came running to the mission-house, to apprize us of the circumstances in which they conceived we were placed.

Unconscious of any cause of offence, I had hitherto remained skeptical, and altogether unwilling to attach much weight to the rumours around us. And although we had seen the strangers from our window, and been constrained to remark on the circumstance of their remaining in the open air, and in close array at that time in the evening, I could not, until now, allow the thought of their having any evil design. But as all were of opinion that this was certainly the case, I at once determined on speaking to them. Upon asking whence they came, they evaded the question, and were evidently not inclined to give me any direct information: but the inquiry being urged as to who they were, and to what chief they belonged, one of them replied, "We are Mokomo's men, and from Gaika's district are we come." I then desired to know whither they were going, and what their business was. "We are not going far," said one; "and there are others coming on, who will declare to you our business." They, all this time, answered me with a kind of ill-natured indifference, and remained

wholly unmoved. But when I proceeded to ask the usual question, "What news have you brought?" they were instantly aroused, and fiercely exclaimed, "News! know you not that our land is dead; that a chief has been shot, and that Magoogoo has been taken captive? You will hear the news soon. It is not our business to tell it."

While I stood talking with them, two or three elderly warriors came up; and, as it afterward appeared, happily arrived just in time to prevent the mischievous deed upon which the band were bent. I again renewed my inquiries, and requested them not to remain in the cold, seeing that it was now night, but to come up to the mission-house, where they should have something to eat, and we would talk together as friends. They immediately acceded to my wishes, and I as speedily fulfilled my promise. This gave us a complete victory over the hungry fellows, whose feelings evidently softened, as their stomachs filled; their fierce looks and malignant language fell before the force of kindness. Addressing myself to their leader, and entreating him to give ear to my words, I endeavoured first to impress his mind with the consideration, that, as we were not now holding a palaver at a mere Kaffer *umzi*, but at the "great place," which the king had taken under his wing, and which bore the name of the King of kings, who had commanded all men to be at peace, it was our duty to inform each other of every thing that was wrong, in order to its being set right. To all this the old captain nodded assent, and then commenced saying:—

"We are Boohoo's *Amapakati:* we are not Mokomo's men. We are men who have lost two or three head of cattle; and we have been told that they are here. We have seen the marks of their feet, and are come in search of them. We have found the place where they are: it is the place of a great chief; yea, it is the 'great place,' which the king has taken under his wing, and which bears the name of the King of kings, who hath commanded all men to be at peace. Therefore let us talk together as friends. I was not able to walk," added he, "with the young warriors. I greatly feared they would have thrown the *umkoneto* before I could get hither. They intended to fight with you, to drive off the herds of your people, and then take as many as they thought proper. It was well they did not do so. You

did well to talk with them; they could do nothing while you talked to them; but it was dark, and dangerous. Thus have I told you all: you are our friend; see to this matter, and we shall continue friends. *Pelleela.*"

Hearing this, I instantly and anxiously inquired, whether any one knew any thing of the cattle in question; upon which, one of the people stepped forward, and honestly acknowledged, that, from the description given of them, he was led to believe they were in his herd; that he had purchased them of a native who brought them for sale some days previously, but that he had not the most distant idea of their being stolen, or he should not have bought them. This point being satisfactorily ascertained, and the party convinced, that the person in whose hands their cattle were found was not the depredator, nor yet in the least disposed to conceal the property, or the facts of the case, the alarm excited by their appearance happily subsided, and we were enabled to retire to rest in peace.

The following morning, however, which was Sunday, the warriors were joined by others, who afresh stirred them up to mischief. The captain before alluded to, who had uttered such terrible threats against the station, united himself to the party at an early hour, and before ten o'clock A. M., they seemed as much disposed to quarrel as ever. They were not satisfied with merely getting their own cattle back again, but wished to make spoil. When we had commenced divine service some of the strangers attended along with the congregation, but the greater part of them remained in conference outside. All continued peaceable until I had finished my sermon: but just as the congregation went out, a hue and cry was raised which produced the utmost confusion. "What is the matter?" exclaimed one. "There stands the thief," said another, directing our attention towards the adjacent hill. On inquiry it appeared, that the persons who had unwittingly bought the stolen animals, anxious to remove all ground of offence, and to substantiate their statements by the strongest evidence possible, had been in search of the man who had laid this snare for them; and having found him, they had likewise succeeded in enticing him into the neighbourhood of the institution.

We now learned that the strangers, suspecting the truth of what had been stated, were waiting to see the issue

of this measure, hoping that they might still be able to find occasion against the inhabitants of the mission village. The king being at a distance, I had no means of communicating with him at the moment; but perceiving his brother standing in the crowd, I desired him to see to the matter. He, however, being greatly prejudiced against us, was evidently more inclined to push our poor people into difficulties, than to help them out of them. "The man is there," said he; "and they have guns, let them shoot him." This was a trying moment, and one which required the steady exercise of every grace, but more particularly of patience. It really seemed as if the powers of darkness were assailing us on every hand, and determined on gaining an advantage over us.

Perceiving from his elevated station, that the inhabitants of the village were looking towards him, the offender became afraid, and casting away his garment fled with all speed. Seeing this, the crowd pursued; and as every man took with him some kind of weapon, spear, club, or bludgeon, I really feared that the wretched culprit would fall a sacrifice to their fury. Being hard run, and beset on every side, he had not proceeded far before they completely encircled him. Nevertheless, surrender he would not, until severely wounded, and fully convinced that all prospect and possibility of escape was utterly at an end. He was then made prisoner, and delivered to the chief, the king's brother, who found himself placed in circumstances of a nature, to render indifference or neglect a charge that might be attended with serious consequences, if brought before Hinza. He therefore proceeded to put several questions to the unhappy man, whose answers fully demonstrated his guilt, and happily exonerated those with whom he had had dealings from all blame whatever. This constrained our unfriendly visiters to hang down their heads, as their hope was hereby wholly cut off.

The chief then ordered the prisoner to be bound with thongs, and kept so until his trial could take place. While they were doing this the poor fellow looked at me very pitifully: and, as if to excite my commiseration and induce my interposition in his behalf, pointed at one of the wounds he had received in the leg, from which the blood had been copiously flowing. At 7 P. M., I preached from Romans vi. 23. The criminal was in

the midst of us, with his bonds upon him. I had not the most distant idea, at the time, that this would be the last opportunity he would ever have of hearing the Gospel; but so it proved. The unloosing of his fetters, however seemed to have been the principal thing that engrossed his attention. Hence, on being requested to arise and take refreshment, it was found that he had completely succeeded in disentangling himself, and was only waiting for the departure of the company to effect his escape. With this his keepers became so extremely enraged, that they scarcely suffered him to satisfy the cravings of hunger before they again fastened him, hand and foot, in a most unmerciful manner.

An investigation of the whole case took place early the following morning, when messengers were despatched to apprize his friends of his situation, and to require their attendance at the trial. Some of them appeared a few hours afterward, but disclaimed all connexion or acquaintance with him, except that, as a homeless stranger, he had sojourned for a while in their hamlet. It may here be necessary to remark, that, according to Kaffer usage, the brother, parent, or friend is frequently compelled to pay for the delinquencies of relatives in the event of the latter being unable to meet the fines or penalties levied upon them. Knowing this they resolved on leaving the poor criminal to his fate, be that what it might, rather than endanger themselves by recognizing him under such circumstances. It was at length, however, fully proved that a connexion between him and them did subsist, and that they had in their possession eight or ten head of cattle belonging to him. Then perceiving that the affair was likely to involve them very seriously, they offered to compromise by presenting the young chief with a heifer, as the price of the man's liberty; and by restoring the cattle he had received, in exchange for those that had been stolen.

But this was of no avail, as the dread moment of trial had now arrived, and all concerned began to tremble. Having been to the king's residence, and made him acquainted with the whole business, and he having been led to conclude that one of his own best cows had also fallen into the hands of the same unhappy maurauder, he determined on coming to see him himself. Accordingly about 4. P.M., he arrived at the mission village, attended by the whole of his council. To the cattle-fold

(which is invariably the court-house) all proceeded in due form, and there took their stand with imposing silence, none uttering a word for several minutes. The appearance of Hinza and his retinue operated like an electric shock upon the delinquent, whose very countenance bespoke a faint heart, and an hopeless state of mind. He was permitted to keep his seat on the ground, and the council formed themselves into a circle around him. The king occasionally asked him a question or two; but all the main questions were proposed by one of the chief counsellors; and he was required to give every answer himself, having neither counsel nor advocate at his side. He now unhesitatingly acknowledged the whole of the charges brought against him; and frankly confessed having stolen the king's cow, together with her calf; both which, as in the other instances, he had again disposed of to avoid detection. This done he cast himself upon Hinza's clemency, lauding him in the most servile manner, and praising his greatness to the very skies. "Right and just," said he "would it be, *inkos enkulu*, for you to trample me under foot. Hinza, mightiest of chiefs, would not do wrong in crushing his dog to death, for he is *Inkos enkulu*, *Inkos enkulu enkulu!*" All this time, however, the poor wretch was vainly hoping that his fulsome adulation might induce a favourable decision in the mind of his judge. No sentence was publicly pronounced, but a thong was again tied round his neck, by which one of the king's menials led him away; and here the trial ended.

Scarcely had day begun to dawn, on the Tuesday morning, before the executioners commenced their work; which began with ruin, and ended in death. The culprit was first dragged to the place of his residence, and at the point of the spear required to show every thing belonging to him. He was then hurried back again to the *umzi* whence they came, naked, hungry, and friendless. His property was all distributed among the king's counsellors, whose services are generally remunerated in this way; and it was further decreed that "the dog should be killed forthwith." In Christian lands, ministers are appointed to attend the unhappy culprit to the very drop, and every thing is done that can at all tend to console his mind, or shorten his sufferings; but not so in Caffraria; with spears, and clubs, and bludgeons, the barbarous throng drove the ill-fated

man into a ravine near Hinza's residence; and there pierced his body, fractured his ribs, and with showers of missiles broke his head to pieces.

Thus did the gathering cloud explode. The vengeful blow which circumstances had led our affrighted people to anticipate appeared to be hereby carried over them. Some of those who seemed to indulge evil feelings towards us vented their rage upon the poor thief; while others, who from their rank and influence, were much more to be dreaded, were completely silenced, partly by the king's decided approval of the conduct of those who had so honestly and openly avowed the real facts of the case; but principally by his having made them sharers in the spoil, circumstances over which, we of course, had no possible control. Remarkably enough, the angry captain, who so furiously threatened to do some serious mischief in the mission village, happened to be one of those who obtained portions of the confiscated property; which immediately put him in perfect good-humour, insomuch that he began to praise the institution as the best thing ever established in their country for "detecting bad men, and bringing bad things to light." "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision." Psalm ii. 1–4.

August 8th.—Six adults, four women and two men, presented themselves before the congregation, after morning sermon, for the purpose of publicly declaring their belief in the doctrines of Christianity. Each expressed an earnest desire to be baptized in the name of Christ, that they might hereby show their renunciation not only of heathen names, but also of heathenish customs and vices. They had all been under a course of instruction for several months previously, and uniformly evinced great sincerity. No one among them appeared in a beast's skin, each was decently "clothed, and in his right mind." One of the women seemed to be full seventy years of age; and, to use her own expressions, could not "sit upon the edge of the grave much longer." Her hoary head, snow-white, formed a striking contrast with the dark hue of her sable countenance.

The circumstances of this aged female rendered her an object of peculiar interest. She had long been afflicted with a certain description of fits, in which she sometimes unconsciously threw herself into the fire. In Christian countries such a visitation, independently of age and other infirmities, is calculated to excite the utmost commiseration; and relatives feel themselves bound, by the ties of humanity as well as by those of nature, to provide the sufferers with a safeguard against the dangers to which they are thus unhappily exposed. But not so here. Ignorance and superstition steel the heart and render it invulnerable to the loudest, the most touching calls of nature. Numbers in Caffraria are suffered thus to perish, without the least succour or assistance; others are wholly banished from society, and that by their nearest relatives; yea, even parents themselves scruple not deliberately to strangle, or cause to be strangled, a son or a daughter, because they have fits. The poor old creature in question was one day seized with one of these dreadful paroxysms, while sitting in her hut, and actually fell prostrate upon the fire. Alarmed at the sight, as they generally are, supposing such affections to be contagious, her heathenish companions were about to flee, when one cried out, "But if we neglect her, the *Umfundis* (missionary) will be angry." Aid was therefore promptly rendered, and she was happily rescued from her perilous situation ere she had sustained any material injury. "Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?"

Three of the persons, one man and two women, baptized on this occasion, belonged to that class of natives which we have repeatedly mentioned, and to which the Kaffers have given the name of *Amafengoo*, because poor. And poor indeed they are; for excepting those who have settled on the mission stations, few or any of them command any thing that can be called their own. In most cases, they are the complete vassals of those who entertain them, and have for years been routed and beaten about by the enemy in different parts of the interior. Ask them respecting their own country and the place of their nativity, the uniform reply is, "Far, far, very far!"

When reminded, while standing before the congregation, of the goodness and mercy of God, who had brought them out of a distant land, a land of total darkness; who

had preserved them in the desert, and kept them alive among the slain; who had prevented their falling a prey to the pursuer, or perishing in the field; and had at length brought them safe to his "tabernacles and to his holy hill;"—the tears trickled down their black cheeks, and the whole congregation melted too. One of their number was the son of an *Amazizza* chief, who would doubtless have become a powerful ruler in that tribe, had it not been dispersed, and in a great measure destroyed by the invaders.

That unprecedented numbers of these destitute exiles should have been literally driven into this quarter, by a train of uncontrollable occurrences, at the very time when Christianity was becoming established in the country, and when the gospel was pushing its way onward as if to meet them; that a strange variety of circumstances should have tended to scatter such numerous groups of them around our respective stations, insomuch that many are now to be found among the inhabitants of every mission village in Caffraria, are facts of the most pleasing kind; and facts, too, in which every pious mind, as well as the missionary, cannot but recognise the hand and providence of the Most High. This, however, is not all; they are not merely thrown within the range of missionary operation, but, by a distinguishing and remarkable readiness both to hear and receive the word, they are obviously becoming special objects of missionary attention. Although equally, if not more superstitious in general than the Kaffer, they appear to be much less influenced by that skeptical spirit which he so frequently evinces. Painful as have been the dispensations of heaven towards them, "Jehovah," said one, "has been thereby placing us under the missionary wing." Our stations are evidently becoming their asylums; and I firmly believe that the period is not far distant when numbers of them will be added unto the Christian church. "In that time shall the present be brought unto the Lord of hosts of a people scattered and peeled, and from a people terrible from their beginning hitherto: a nation meted out and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the mount Zion." Isaiah xviii. 7.

In a few days after the baptism of the above-mentioned individuals, six were joined together in holy mat-

rimony. Four of them had been living together, according to Kaffer custom, for several years; but with this they were no longer satisfied, and therefore determined on ratifying their engagements to each other in the house of God, and in the manner required by the "Christian's law." I could not but remark one thing, as it said much for their sincerity:—not one among them even so much as intimated a wish to take "new wives:" to be bound to those they had, and to those only, and that for life, was the unanimously-expressed desire of all. Nor was it a little pleasing to hear them subsequently rejoicing in hope that the solemn combination of circumstances attendant on their union would for ever prove a safeguard against the vile and polygamous habits of their heathenish countrymen. Neither the men nor women had upon them any article of native costume, their beast-skin garbs having been wholly left at home.

The sacred page explicitly declares, that "marriage is honourable;" and when the polygamous African is convinced of this, we cannot but conclude that a grand point is gained. Hence it is an encouraging fact, that those who, on our different mission stations in Caffraria, have been thus legally married, and who are conducting themselves with propriety, each man as the husband of one wife, not only regard themselves as having attained a degree of respectability and moral rank of which their two, three, and four-wived friends are unable to boast, but many of the latter are actually beginning to recognise their superiority on this very ground.

On coming out of the chapel, the newly-married couples were heartily greeted by their acquaintances, who congratulated them on having now obtained a name more honourable than their neighbours. To their credit be it spoken, no feasting or confusion followed, as is too frequently the case on similar occasions even in enlightened countries. Assembled together in one or other of their little huts, the party spent their time between the hours of divine service, in a manner truly becoming and irreproachable. Over a cup of tea, presented to them by Mrs. Kay, they became perfectly social, and delightfully happy. "Now," said one, with his wife smiling at his side, "we are like *Umfundis* and *Inkosikaz*,"—the missionary and his wife.

Two out of the six wished to have been married some

weeks previously, but were prevented by the young woman's father, who refused to give his consent because the man was not able immediately to pay him the price —eight or ten head of cattle—which he demanded for his daughter. Out of this circumstance arose an interesting and important controversy. By one party it was argued, "How can we give up a custom which was established by our forefathers, and which continues to be such a source of profit?" while the other contended, saying, "Is it right, because our ancestors were ignorant, still to adhere to a practice which places our children on a level with the beast, seeing we are now convinced that they, like ourselves, have immortal souls?" This question having been repeatedly put to the old man alluded to, by one and another of the native converts, he at length gave up the point, and fully consented to the marriage, without further stipulation. A few days before this took place, I went into his hut, and found him very ill indeed; upon asking the cause, he told me it proceeded from an injury he had received in his back many years ago; but that he feared God was thereby about to terminate his life, because he had endeavoured to support the heathenish customs of their nation!

"To despise and degrade the female sex," says Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, "is the characteristic of a savage state in every part of the globe. Man, proud of excelling in strength and in courage,—the chief marks of pre-eminence among rude people,—treats woman, as an inferior, with disdain. Marriage itself, instead of being a union of affection and interests between equals, becomes among them the unnatural conjunction of a master with his slave. It is the observation of an author whose opinions are deservedly of great weight, that 'wherever wives are purchased, their condition is extremely depressed.'* They become the property and slaves of those who buy them. In whatever part of the globe this custom prevails, the observation holds. In countries where refinement has made some progress, women, when purchased, are excluded from society, shut up in sequestered apartments, and kept under the vigilant guard of their masters. In ruder nations they are, as already shown, degraded to the meanest functions. Thus the first institution of

* Sketches of Hist. of Man, vol. i. p. 184.

social life is perverted. That state of domestic union towards which nature leads the human species, in order to soften the heart to gentleness and humanity, is rendered so unequal as to establish a cruel distinction between the sexes, which forms the one to be harsh and unfeeling, and humbles the other to servility and subjection."

Just as I concluded divine service in the evening, we were called to witness the peaceful death of one of our female members. The hut in which she expired was one of mourning, and likewise one of joy. As soon as it was understood that her end was drawing near, the people flocked to the spot, and the room was speedily crowded to excess. All being anxious to see her, the press was so great that there was scarcely room to move. Her eyes had become dim, and the spirit was nearly gone when we arrived. Around her stood the husband and two or three children, weeping most bitterly; and while I engaged in prayer, death finished his work, releasing her from the tabernacle of clay, which she left without a sigh or a groan. During her affliction, which was long and severe, she was often tempted to think that her faith was all a delusion; but from this she obtained complete deliverance some days before her exit. Throughout the whole of her sufferings nothing appeared to distress her so much as the reflection, that she had not been so faithful to the grace given as she ought to have been. This she frequently expressed in the course of conversation, and deeply deplored her ungratefulness to the Saviour of sinners; to adopt her own words, "the very thought thereof rendered her heart sore." Her last moments were not marked by any thing like rapture or ecstasy, but she was blessed with a confident hope, through Jesus Christ, of everlasting life; and some of her last words were, "I am dying, I am dying in peace, through Jesus!"

About two o'clock P. M. the following day, the inhabitants of the mission village were assembled, to attend the remains of this pious native to the grave. Not being able to get a coffin, the relatives wrapped up the body in mats, and constructed a bier of poles and branches. The people then repaired to the chapel, where I read the ninetieth Psalm, and likewise a part of the fifteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians; this done, a short hymn was sung, and the service concluded with prayer; after

which, the procession moved off in regular order towards the burial ground, and solemn silence prevailed the whole way. Having arrived at the grave, dug by the relatives themselves, the corpse was lowered from the shoulders of the bearers, and placed in its dusty bed; upon which I addressed all present on the momentous subjects of death, judgment, and eternity. The sable group listened with the deepest attention, and when prayer was ended, returned to their homes in perfect quietness. Happy indeed was the contrast* between this scene and that in the heathen hamlets around, where others were dragging out their dying relatives to be devoured by beasts of prey!

CHAPTER XIII.

Annual firing of the fields—An awful judgment—Remarkable providence—Morley station—Umtata river—Remains of the Mantatee army—Ambitious design of the Zoolah king—Colonial embassy—Attack upon Matuwana's herders—Amanwana routed by British troops—Heart-rending scenes—Horrid barbarity—An affecting narrative—A boy seized by the wolf—Native lads desirous of European clothing—Sabbath morning prayer-meeting—Sunday-school—Different names of Deity—More missionaries wanted.

AUGUST 14th.—Between Butterworth and Morley, our newly-formed and most advanced station, there is a distance of eighty or ninety miles,† and not much communication. Having heard that a destructive fire had taken

* Writing from Plaatberg, in the Boochuana Territory, Oct. 31st, 1825, the Rev. T. L. Hodgson remarks: "Brother A. and I walked a short distance from the wagons, to see the body of a person said to have died in the night. The dogs and birds were feasting upon it with the greatest eagerness. As we approached the body, we found it to be that of a young woman, not in the least reduced by sickness, and from the blood on her head I fear she had been murdered. When will this people be so far civilized as to bury their dead? When will relations and friends be shocked at seeing, within view from the whole village, their own dogs feasting upon the body of one who but yesterday formed a part of their own company? But, alas! the life of a fellow-creature is considered by them of no value, nor their death of any importance."

† This, however, refers to the route usually taken with wagons, which is necessarily somewhat circuitous.

place there, and being in the dark as to particulars, I anxiously hastened to the spot as quickly as possible. Our friends had indeed had a very narrow escape, but report had greatly exaggerated the circumstance. So much does lying obtain among all classes in Caffraria, that the most palpable falsehoods constitute mere matters of jest. On inquiry it appeared that the long dry grass around the mission premises one day took fire, and greatly endangered them. The soil on this part of the coast being exceedingly rich, and vegetation consequently very luxuriant, grass and herbaceous plants quickly attain an almost incredible height if the season be at all favourable. In many places a man on horseback might ride for miles together without being seen even by persons at the distance of twenty or thirty paces from him. This, of course, sometimes places the traveller in imminent danger, as the only paths he is able to pursue are, in general, such as have been made by the elephant, which may be silently plodding along at the same time.* At this season of the year, however, the natives usually burn off all the old grass, with the view of rendering the expected rains more beneficial. Hence, blackened fields, or fields of flame, everywhere presented themselves. Here the face of nature was rendered sombre indeed, and there sublime beyond description.

When the furious element was seen approaching, every possible effort was made to check it, but in vain.

* While on his way through the gleus and forest of Zuur Berg in the year 1814, a Dutch soldier was suddenly met by one of these animals which destroyed him in a most awful manner. Having a musket on his shoulder at the time, he fired, but did not succeed in effecting a mortal wound. The ferocious beast being hereby irritated rather than hurt, instantly laid hold of him with his proboscis, and tore one of his legs entirely off. It then gave him a tremendous toss into the air, and lost him among the bushes, or would doubtless have trampled him into the earth. In this miserable condition he was found by one of his comrades shortly afterward, and expired in the course of a few hours in agony the most dreadful. Awful to relate, this wretched man, having been displeased with the conduct of his aged mother (then in Holland) respecting some family affair, was frequently in the habit of swearing, that if ever he lived to see her he would "tear a limb from her body!" Happening one day to pass the very spot where the circumstance occurred, my guide, who was an old resident in that part of the country, assured me that he was well acquainted with this inhuman being, had often heard his shocking language, and was but a few miles from the place when he came to this horrible end.

Several native families were obliged to desert their dwellings, and leave their small stock of household utensils behind; all which were speedily reduced to ashes. Among the sufferers was one whose loss was very serious. This was an English settler, who had for some time previously been engaged in the Kaffer trade, and who, for his temporary accommodation, had erected a small fragile habitation like unto those of his sable customers. It soon took fire therefore, and was completely burnt, together with the whole of its contents, consisting of ivory, hides, horns, &c. &c., to a considerable amount.

It was at first feared that the cause had originated with an enemy; but it afterward proved to have arisen simply from the carelessness of one of the native children. A poor hungry boy, having picked up a small piece of beast's hide, was desirous of eating his morsel alone; and therefore concealed himself while broiling his "titbit" in one of the neighbouring paths. Happening, unluckily, to place his firebrand too near some withered herbage, the latter instantly ignited, and, raised by the wind, the blaze overspread the field in the course of a few seconds. As this circumstance occurred near Quanda's hamlet, the inhabitants of it watched the progress of the flames with very great anxiety, fearing lest they should be charged with having attempted to destroy the mission property, and drive the missionary away! The furious element continued to rage without any abatement until it arrived within a few yards of the new mission-cottage, which was nearly completed. Eighteen or twenty wagon-loads of thatch lay right in front, and seemed to form a train to the very house itself; had this therefore taken fire, the destruction of the greater part, if not the whole, of the property, would have been almost inevitable. But, strange to relate, when every eye was fixed on this point, and all effort had become wholly unavailable, the awful conflagration, now within a few inches of the straw-heap, suddenly and completely died away! The natives instantly exclaimed, "That is God's work!"

The site of Morley, by the natives called *Aweelo*, is delightfully elevated, and has a very salubrious climate. The mornings and evenings were more than ordinarily cold, and during the day the thermometer ranged between 50° and 55°. From this point is presented to us

abundant scope for observation, as the varied character of the clans around, together with numerous eventful occurrences in its vicinity, fill every part of the field with deep interest. As the mission was but recommenced in April last, there had not been time for the erection of any substantial building, excepting the one above-mentioned. Consequently the mission village still wore the aspect of a native hamlet; and Messrs. Shepstone and Freemantle (the artisans), with their families, were dwelling in huts. In the background there are deep and thickly-wooded ravines extending down to the sea, which is not more than fifteen or twenty miles distant. Hence, when the atmosphere is clear, the ocean may be distinctly seen; and its cooling breezes will doubtless be felt throughout the year.

A few minutes' walk to the eastward brings us to the precipitous heights of the Umtata, whose channel forms a perfect gulf. As my nervous friend, Mr. ——, observed, "It turns one giddy to look into it." Nevertheless, dismal and inaccessible as many of its gloomy recesses appear to be, they are thronged with people to whom the tremendous precipice and rugged cliff seem beauteous, because a kind of rampart and place of refuge in times of danger. Out of these chasms it is almost impossible to draw the inhabitants by any consideration whatever. There only they feel secure; and as the mountain sides afford abundant pasturage, their herds thrive remarkably well. In the bottoms there are rich plots of garden-ground, capable of yielding abundantly if properly cultivated. In the bed of the river I observed the castor-oil tree growing most luxuriantly; and fine timber was everywhere scattered about. Of this valuable material there is an excellent supply within a few hundred yards of the mission premises; it, in fact, forms a fine grove, rich in deep and varied foliage, adding greatly to the beauty of the landscape. The surrounding population here is much more dense and crowded than that on the borders of the colony; the hamlets also are considerably larger, consisting in general of a much greater number of huts.

Right in front is the mountain chain, at the foot of which such lamentable havoc was made by our troops among the remains of the Mantatee host in June and July 1828. After the attack made by that powerful body of invaders on the Batclapees and other Boochuana

tribes in 1823, and the repulse received by them from the firearms of the Griquas, they appear to have divided themselves into two armies. One of them proceeded in a north-easterly direction, and was scarcely heard of afterward; but the other manifestly came down to the southward, dispersing and plundering the various clans that fell in their way. In the course of about two years "upwards of one thousand fugitives, mostly in a state of extreme destitution, took refuge in the colony, a circumstance wholly unprecedented in any former period."*

At length this sweeping force reached the Amaponedæ, and stationed themselves about the sources of the Umtata, whence they occasionally sallied forth in skirmishing parties upon the outskirts of the Amatemboo. As Chaka's warriors were scouring the coast about the same period, the whole of the frontier tribes were of course greatly agitated; and reports reached the colony, that this much-dreaded tyrant was rapidly approaching for the professed purpose of subjugating the Kaffer nation, and establishing his supremacy among the blacks. Statements, therefore, the most exaggerated were got up by the different chieftains with a view of inducing government to send out an armed force to their help.

Major ——, accompanied by an armed escort, consisting of thirty or forty men, was at length deputed to visit the Zoolah king, who had some time previously sent two of his chief captains on an embassy, apparently to ascertain what line of policy our government would adopt, in the event of his taking the steps above-mentioned. The object of this deputation was, unquestionably, the promotion of peace; and it cannot but be regretted that its results were not in accordance therewith. On their arrival in Fakoo's territories, they found that chief utterly destitute, laid prostrate on the ground, and in a state of mind bordering upon despair. Some time elapsed before the party were able to elicit from him any information whatever; but when prevailed upon to enter into conversation, he stated that the enemy had attacked him in the beginning of the preceding month, invaded his country, plundered his people, and burnt their dwellings to the ground.

Here the expedition was diverted from its course, and

* Thompson's Travels, vol. i. p. 383.

induced hastily to retreat to the Bashee, by a report that the invaders were taking a more inland route, for the purpose of falling upon the Amatemboo. These, however, consisted only of a few wanderers belonging to Matuwana, the Zoolahs having gone back the way they came, taking their spoil with them.

Nevertheless, being informed that the Temboo chief considered himself in danger, our white warriors instantly flew to his aid, put peace out of the question, and strangely lent themselves to the promoters of war. After marching until evening (July 25th, 1828), they halted and bivouacked on the westernmost source of the Umtata, attended by about five thousand natives, whom Voosani had assembled for the purpose. Falling in with a company of Matuwana's people the following day, they made a charge upon them, shot several, and took twenty thousand head of cattle. These were all given to the Temboos, who complained of having sustained severe loss, and who herewith returned to their houses in great triumph. Very few days, however, elapsed ere the impoverished and enraged chief sent down an overwhelming force, and effectually succeeded in re-capturing his herds. He at the same time vowed vengeance against his opponents, declaring that he would pay them a visit when they least expected him, and when "the assistance of white men and guns would not be obtainable." Fear and revenge, therefore, now gave rise to a hue and cry, which put the whole of Kafferland in commotion, and the colony itself was supposed to be in danger.

About a month after the above-mentioned skirmish, a strong military force, together with several hundred armed colonists, were hurried into the interior to the distance of nearly three hundred miles from the colonial boundary, where they were immediately joined by an immense host of Kaffers, who proved themselves to be Kaffers indeed! Flushed with the hope of conquest and abundant spoil, having got an ally so powerful in their van, the natives hastened onward to the combat, pointing out exactly the site whereon was erected the temporary huts of the Amanwana. On the Sunday evening, the troops arrived within a few hours' march of the spot, and, after halting for an hour or two, again proceeded with the view of taking them by surprise ere dawn of day the following morning. In this they succeeded;

so, that while the greater part of the people were still fast asleep, the rushing of horses, the clashing of spears, and the horrid roar of musquetry poured in upon them* on every side. Who can conceive of a situation more awful? The thought makes one's very blood run cold. If we had not heard the details of this sanguinary affair confirmed by more than fifty eyewitnesses, we could not possibly have given credence to it; so strange was the plan, and so barbarous its results! A respectable British officer, whom duty required to be on the spot, candidly declared to the author, that it was "one of the most disgraceful and cold-blooded acts to which the English soldier had ever been rendered accessary."

The moment our troops arrived on the summit of the eminence that overlooked the vale in which Matuwana and his men were lying, orders were given for all to gallop down among the houses. Their affrighted occupants then poured out in droves, and a dreadfully destructive fire was forthwith opened upon them. Very few seconds elapsed ere every hut was vacated, and thousands seen scampering off in every direction. Numbers, gaunt and emaciated by hunger and age, crawled out of their miserable sheds, but with pitiable apathy sat or laid down again as if heedless of their fate. Many of the females cast away their little ones, the more readily to effect their own escape; while others actually plunged into the deepest part of the river with their infants upon their backs. In this situation some were drowned, others speared, and many stoned to death by the savage throng; insomuch that the water was at length literally died with blood.

Those of the poor Africans who are constantly engaged in a course of warfare keep their spears, and shields, &c. always at hand; and are, therefore, armed in a moment. Hence, though driven thus suddenly from their hovels, every man was as quickly prepared for action; and after running for a short distance, until able partially to marshal their scattered companies, they bravely rallied, and prepared to defend themselves. But,

*It has indeed been said, that a parley was attempted; and for the honour of our countrymen, we cannot but wish that this could have been proved. Unhappily, however, the unanimous testimony of numbers who were personally present during the whole affray is altogether against this assertion, showing too clearly that time was not allowed for any thing of the kind.

dreadful to state, their missile weapons were met by rockets; and for spears they received balls, which their naked bodies were, of course, not long able to stand. Hundreds quickly fell; and the rest fled to the mountains, whither they were pursued with as much speed as the soldier's horse was capable of.

The Kaffer host had all this time hung back; and while the military were routing Matuwana and his warriors, they busily employed themselves in driving off all the cattle they could find, and in murdering the women and children. Previously to the attack being made, orders had indeed been given by the commanding officer, strictly prohibiting this barbarous kind of conduct: but he who lets the lion loose, ought not to forget that he requires guarding. When the troops returned to the point whence they started, the field presented a scene indescribably shocking: old decrepit men, with their bodies pierced, and heads almost cut off; pregnant females ripped open; legs broken, and hands likewise severed from the arm, as if for the purpose of getting th armlets or some other trifling ornament; little children mutilated and horribly mangled; many in whom the spark of life had become quite extinct; some who were still struggling in the agonies of death, and others nearly lifeless endeavouring to crawl about among the dead. One of the soldiers while crossing the valley happened to observe a Kaffer intently engaged at a distance: he immediately advanced to see what he was about, and found the brutal savage deliberately cutting off the breasts of a helpless female, whom he had thrown down on the ground for the purpose. Without standing to ask any questions, he instantly levelled his piece, and shot the barbarian dead on the spot.

But to return to the village of peace. The number of inhabitants actually residing at Morley was but small; but as the greater part of them were exiles, and persons belonging to several different nations, various circumstances gave to their character more than ordinary interest. While Mr. Shepstone and I were conversing, after dinner, a fine stout young woman came in, followed by a ferocious looking Temboo, and began telling her tale of wo. Being a poor, deserted Fengoo, this man had some time previously laid hands upon, and detained her as his slave. She had borne the yoke until able to sustain it no longer; and hearing that several of her

fellow-sufferers had taken up their abode at Aweelo, she determined on joining them. The missionary, therefore, was appealed to as umpire between the parties. No persuasive or argument could induce the woman to think of returning, as she had "seen what had been done to some of her defenceless comrades," whose fate she also had expected to share. After some hours' debate, the matter was happily settled. The Temboo not being able to establish any legal claim to her services, and fearing to adopt any coercive measure, finally agreed to give up the contest, on condition that a spear was presented to him for the food she had eaten. Without setting up any plea against such a requisition on the ground of work done for him, the poor creature instantly flew to her friends, who lent her old iron sufficient to serve as an equivalent. "Now," said she, "*Aweelo* is my home, and *Umfundis* is my captain: here will I dwell, and there will I make my garden."

Among those who were employed in various kinds of work on the mission premises, one old man was pointed out to me, whose history is highly interesting. He heard from afar, that the *Abafundis* (missionaries) were men of peace, and that these men of peace were come into the land. This intelligence excited in his mind "a burning desire to see them;" and although he knew not which way to proceed, he set off in search, and determined if possible to find them. For food on their journey, both he and his family were entirely dependent upon the spontaneous supplies of nature; bulbous roots and earth-nuts constituting their only means of subsistence. Cattle they had none, nor were they able to procure any. Having to travel through an enemy's country, he had frequently to flee for his life; so that his family was at length completely dispersed, and he lost the whole of his children (five) one by one. Thus distressing was the situation of this solitary wanderer in the desert, without any earthly prospect whatever, and bereft of the only solace he had. He nevertheless persevered in his main design, earnestly inquiring as he went along, if any one knew "where the men of peace dwelt?" After travelling until almost worn out, and ready to faint, he finally reached the station; and there his peregrinations ended. Delighted with the idea of having at last found the place where war was no longer

learned, his chief concern now was respecting his children; nor had he been there many weeks before intelligence arrived of their safety. Though scattered about and widely separated, they also had heard the glad tidings that their aged parent was still alive, and residing at Aweelo. This, therefore, became the centre point, and thither they bent their course, first one and then another: so that, although often constrained to mourn under the impression that he should never see them again, he had already received four out of five, and likewise information that the other might be expected in a few days. It was altogether impossible to see him, and listen to his simple narrative, without admiring his spirit, and participating in his joy. One or two of his sons were fine, active, and promising youths, upon whose minds the important truths of holy writ seemed to be making a deep impression.

This station is indeed established in one of the finest and most interesting parts of Southern Africa; but it seems to be by far the least protected of any in Caffraria. Its immediate vicinity is divided into so many petty states, territories, and chieftainships, that bickerings and jealousies are endless; and the feuds and broils which ever and anon occur, often rise to an alarming height. On one side is Cetani; and on the other, Quanda: neither of whom is of much power or influence beyond a certain circle. The former is probably the most powerful of the two, and perhaps most likely to increase in power; but the latter is most friendly to the mission, and likewise the only chief who has joined the mission village. His hamlet, embracing a much larger number of families than is usually found attached to a chieftain's residence, is but a few minutes' walk from the mission-house.

We went thither in the afternoon to see him, and to visit a native youth, the son of one of his warriors, who had been bitten by a wolf four or five days previously. The animal, rendered daring by feeding so frequently upon human flesh, actually pushed open the hut-door and entered while the family were all asleep. It seized the poor lad by the calf of the leg, and appears to have been dragging him away, when his screams aroused the mother and others lying alongside of him. The bustle and confusion which thus ensued induced the creature

to drop its prey and walk out again.* So dreadfully hath superstition enthralled their minds, that, incredible as it may seem, they almost fear to speak in the presence of this voracious animal, and revolt at the idea of killing it! The one that entered the house on this occasion is supposed to be kept by a neighbouring wizard, and is said to be ornamented with necklaces, &c. Hence all are exceedingly afraid of it, scrupling to adopt even defensive measures, lest they should thereby bring down upon themselves the vengeance of its master! The women who sat around us while the boy's wounds were dressed, said they now trembled to go outside after sunset, seeing the *Incnuka* had been sent among them. The man under whose directions it is said to prowl, informed Quanda a few weeks before this occurrence took place that he had a dream, in which two heifers belonging to the chief appeared to him; and that until those two animals were presented to him, the country would remain in an afflicted state, parched with drought, as he should not allow any rain to fall. Poor Quanda, having but few cattle, could not bear the thought of parting with his heifers, and yet feared to deny the impostor, and hereby

* Ten days or a fortnight after this occurrence, when on our way back to the colony, the interpreter and I were benighted within a few miles of the Great Fish River. Having been on the saddle the whole day, our worn-out steeds were unable to carry us further. We were therefore obliged to bivouack on the open plain; and in a place where, as we afterward discovered, neither water nor fuel was obtainable. After much and anxious research indeed, a small pond of brackish and stagnant water was found, together with a few withered branches, which, when ignited, served to cheer the desert's gloom for an hour or two. Casting our beast-skin blankets about us, we laid down upon the grass, and, ere the light went out, became wholly and happily unconscious both of the comfortlessness and the peril of our situation. The howl of wolves, however, again and again broke in upon our repose in the course of the night; but excessive fatigue rendered the influence of this only momentary, as

"Tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep,"

had made us fully proof against apprehension and alarm. When our fire became extinct, nothing remained to deter or to keep those voracious prowlers at a distance; hence, when awakened by the dawn of day, we found that two of them had actually circumambulated and made a complete circuit round about us; from which it was quite evident that they had repeatedly come within little more than three paces of our heads, and within even less than that of our feet, which were much more exposed! Gratitude to God constrained us instantly to bow our knees before him, and to adore that power by which we had thus been mercifully preserved.

trample upon ancient custom. He at length, however, resolved on taking refuge in the words of the *Umfundis;* and gave the fellow to understand that they were now taught to trust in God only for rain, and to believe that he would give or withhold that blessing as might seem best!

The devastating incursions of hostile tribes having prevented the people from raising any crop either of millet or maize, famine was beginning to be felt in various parts of the land. Extreme poverty was strikingly and affectingly apparent throughout the whole of the Amaponeda territory, as the plunderers had, in a great measure, deprived them of their herds, which constituted their main dependence. Thousands were subsisting entirely upon wild fruits and various kinds of gramineous roots. Very few indeed were able to furnish themselves with a new *ingubo:* so that nakedness as well as hunger was becoming the subject of bitter complaint. Six or seven fine tall and interesting young men came to Mr. S—— in the course of the evening, entreating him to furnish them with trousers and other articles of clothing, for which they promised gladly to give labour to any amount that might be required. On no station in Caffraria are European clothes more eagerly sought after than on this; and it is a fact at once interesting and remarkable, that natives are rarely to be seen thus clothed, or indeed clothed at all, excepting in beast skins, throughout the whole land, but on the mission stations. There the desire for decent apparel is rapidly increasing among both sexes. Numbers are beginning to evince a sense of shame because unable to appear properly attired at church on Sabbath-days. One and then another uses great exertion to get a handkerchief or a gown; while the men also become growingly anxious about jackets, trousers, and shirts, &c.

Sunday, 15*th*.—As usual the day was begun with a meeting for prayer immediately after sunrise, when four or five of the native converts gave expression in the most reverent and devout manner to the earnest breathings of their hearts. Rarely or ever does the Christian Kaffer bow his knees before God without imploring a blessing upon all with whom he is at all acquainted; upon every mission station in the land; upon all the chiefs of the different tribes, and particularly upon the *Abafundis*. "Vouchsafe thy blessing, O Lord," said one,

"especially unto the men who have forsaken their country, who have left their fathers, and who have come through the *ulwanhla* (sea) for the sake of us stupid ones." A large circular hut, capable of containing about one hundred and fifty persons, served both as chapel and school-room. On its floor mats were spread for the people to sit upon until suitable benches could be made. About half past eight o'clock, A.M., the bell was rung; and to its call the children instantly answered by running in groups to the place where the novel work of "talking to the walls" (upon which the cards were hung) had been commenced; each seemed to vie with the other in the acquisition of knowledge, and a proper pronunciation of the letters. The Lancasterian system of teaching is remarkably well adapted to the disposition of the Kaffers, they being exceedingly active and lively in general. At this station, however, the system has not as yet been introduced.

The afternoon congregation was much more numerous than that of the morning, owing to the attendance of Quanda's retinue. The old chief himself did not go in, but lay basking in the sun, within forty or fifty paces of the door the whole time, having fallen asleep just before the service began. Such is the situation in which these sable rulers may often be seen, surrounded by a few lounging courtiers, engaged in idle chit-chat. They seldom dare to disturb their master's repose; nor will they entirely leave the spot until he awakes. Just as divine service concluded, however, a circumstance occurred which very soon aroused and made him look about with concern. A messenger, on his way to the residence of one of the sorcerers, came running at full speed with the intelligence that one of the neighbouring captains was dead. This was a sudden and unexpected stroke, as the deceased had not been ill many days. The tidings thereof instantaneously produced deep thoughtfulness, which was depicted in every countenance. "Prepare for confiscation, sacrifice, or torture," is the uniform, and well-known language of all such reports; suffering or death being invariably dragged into the train on these occasions.

While conversing with the people upon religious subjects, I could not but remark that the word *Uixo*, generally used among the frontier clans for God, is here seldom or never heard; a fact, which, coupled with the

klick attached to that word, very considerably strengthens the opinion of its being, like many others now imbodied in the Kaffer language, one of Hottentot origin. The proper names of Deity, used by the Amaponeda, are *Udali* (Maker or Creator) and *Umenzi*, which signifies "worker;" and which, when used in a sacred sense, is fully understood as referring to that Being by whom the great works of nature were produced,—the heavens, the earth, and the sea, &c. *Tikaloshi* also is much more frequently and familiarly talked about than among the more southern tribes. This is an appellation that seems to be given to some invisible and indescribable being, whom they sometimes personify as a little, ugly, malignant fellow, capable of doing them much harm, of inflicting pain, and of effecting their ruin. They likewise imagine that he is able to disturb their happiness by a kind of amorous intercourse with their women; by inducing the wife to play the harlot, and the husband to go astray. The men, I was told, sometimes pretend to wage war with him, and, after storming the hut in which he is supposed to be carrying on his mal-practices, loudly boast of victory.

How affectingly do such indisputable evidences of gross darkness call for the enlightening influences of the gospel! While we rejoice that the standard of truth has at last been erected in this benighted region, it is still impossible for the contemplative mind to look around without reflections of the most painful nature. What is one solitary station in this vast field? What is one missionary on the eastern side of the Bashee? Why, there are tens of thousands round about who can never either hear his voice or see his face. In order to make a visible impression upon this great mass, a host of missionaries are wanted; and until more labourers can be got into the field, our widely scattered lights will be but like glimmering tapers twinkling amid the oppressive gloom of midnight. Besides, difficulties of no ordinary kind must for many years be expected in those remote spheres of labour; no station, therefore, so far distant from the colony, ought to have less than two or three missionaries upon it. These are requisite to give stability and regularity to the work, and to meet, even in a small degree, the wants of the surrounding population.

CHAPTER XIV.

Boa constrictor—Female curriers—Chaka's encampment—Country picturesque—Awful traces of devastation—Low estimate of human life—Herd of hippopotami—Narrow escape—Mode of killing the hippopotamus—Arrival at Daapa's hamlet—His European origin—Heathenish disposition—Warlike habits—Dwelling near the sea—Account of his mother—Where shipwrecked—Her marriage—Family influence—Death—Daapa's domain—The minished state of his clan.

August 15*th.*—One of the interpreters this morning gave me some particulars respecting the usages of his countrymen with regard to an enormous reptile, which, according to his description, answers exactly to the character of the *boa constrictor*. The doubts which formerly obtained relative to the existence of this dreadful creature in Southern Africa are now in a great measure removed, one having been killed by a late adventurer on the upper part of the coast. It is by no means common; but various accounts, given by the natives, fully substantiate the fact. By them this species of the serpent tribe is exceedingly dreaded; and being influenced by certain superstitious notions, they even fear to kill it. The man who happened to put it to death, whether in self-defence or otherwise, was formerly required to lie in a running stream of water during the day for several weeks together; and no beast whatever was allowed to be slaughtered at the hamlet to which he belonged, until this duty had been fully performed. The body of the snake was then taken and carefully buried in a trench, dug close to the cattle-fold, where its remains, like those of a chief, were henceforward kept perfectly undisturbed. The period of penance, as in the case of mourning for the dead, is now happily reduced to a few days; and, as knowledge increases, this heathenish practice, so destructive both of health and life, will, doubtless, wholly subside.

Opportunity favouring the project, I determined on going to see old Daapa, the only surviving son of a European female, who was wrecked on this coast some eighty or ninety years ago. On this excursion, Mr. S.

accompanied me for the purpose of persuading him, if possible, to remove to the mission village. We first rode to Quanda's residence, taking with us plasters for the poor lad that had been bitten by the wolf. Here we found the people busily employed in preparing new mantles. Around a beast's hide that had been stretched out and fastened to the ground, sat five or six stout young women, lazily scraping the inner side with the serrated edge of an aloe leaf. This was done to raise a sort of nap; after which, the skin is well dried and saturated with grease, in order to render it soft and ductile. Before it came into their hands, however, all fleshy and mucilaginous matter had been completely taken off by the men, who are generally very particular about this part of the operation.

Leaving these female curriers, we proceeded along the western bank of the Umtata, having on our left an almost uninterrupted range of deep chasms, which terminated in the serpentine channel of the river below. The country all around is exceedingly broken, insomuch that travelling is in many places very difficult, and with wagons altogether impossible. A mixture of trap and sandstone still constitutes the characteristic features of the hill-tops; but of the latter description there is here perhaps the greatest proportion. The soil is everywhere remarkably rich, and evidently calculated to yield an abundant recompense to the industrious cultivator. Most of the ravines are well wooded, and in several places I observed large timber growing on the very summits of the highest eminences. A tree very similar to our English elder is here and there found in the valleys contiguous to the coast, and likewise a great variety of fine bulbs. Among these are two or three different classes of *amaryllis*, and also of the *cyrtanthes*' tribe, the *obliquas*, and the *augusta folia*. A variety of the *hyæmanthus* too, the poisonous *toxi caria*, is here sometimes met with, as also that beautiful plant, the *strelitzi reginæ*, in considerable numbers. The land, being exceedingly high, must have a very bold and bluff appearance from the sea. Several of the mountains near the beach are rich in iron ore. At the mouth of the Umpakoo, there is a hill of a very singular description, and well worthy the careful attention of any traveller skilled in geology. It is composed principally of iron ore of irregular shape, with nearly

perpendicular sides; it may be about one hundred yards long at the base, and thirty or forty yards high at the highest part. While waves dash against the southern side, its northern cliff forms a sort of dam to the waters of the river, which, consequently, collect and form a beautiful lagoon; but the object that more immediately arrests the traveller's attention in viewing this rock is a singular excavation which runs quite through from its northern to its southern side, thus forming a natural tunnel, which in height is about one-fourth the altitude of the hill itself, and wide enough to admit an ordinary sized coal-barge. "I never before felt," says one of the brethren, "such sensations of admiration on viewing a landscape, as those I was constrained to indulge during the few minutes we halted to look at this spot. The undulatory hills on each side of the river; the lagoon at the foot of the iron mountain; the tremendous breakers incessantly roaring on the beach, and foaming through the perforation in the rock; the sun just setting; and, on the opposite side of the horizon, the pale moon, having 'filled her horn,' rising above the waters of the Southern Ocean, of which we had, at the same moment, an extensive view, formed altogether such a grand and beautiful constellation of objects, that I felt considerable regret on leaving the place."

Soon after 11 A.M., we arrived at the Cwanguba, a small forest, which clothes the very top of one of the most conspicuous peaks in the whole country, and in which Chaka's forces encamped when on their devastating tour in 1828. From this point they commanded a full view of all the land below; a circumstance which, in all probability, determined their choice of the station. On the right, twelve or fifteen miles distant, is the Umpakoo, which forms the boundary, I am told, of the Amaquean territory; and from that river to the Bashee the line of coast is occupied by the Amaboovana (another branch broken off from the Umponeda tribe), who join and are bounded by Hinza's clans to the westward. Their late chief Gamboosh, together with his son Galaka, have been in alliance with the Amaxosæan king for many years past; but this is now in a great measure broken, in consequence of the cruel and unpopular conduct of the latter. Twelve or fourteen years ago Hinza married Gamboosh's daughter, who was formerly constituted head of his household, and of whom was born

the rightful heir to his authority. She is now, however, cast off; her royal husband one day furiously declared that if she did not depart out of his sight, and immediately leave his residence, he would certainly plunge his spear into her heart! She was therefore obliged to return to her father's house, where she will in all probability remain until the son comes to years of maturity; and then it is expected he will fetch her home, and henceforward become her protector.

Two or three miles from the Cwanguba we passed through a village inhabited by persons of a mixed character, chiefly of slave extraction. There can be little doubt but numbers of slaves have in former years taken refuge in Caffraria from the lash of their colonial taskmasters: nor is it less clear that others have at different times been thrown into the country by means of shipwrecks. Most of these being black, and married to native women, their children are, of course, rarely distinguishable from the people with whom they are now amalgamated. In this instance, however, their unusually thick woolly hair and bushy beards rendered them strikingly singular; and on being challenged, they very ingenuously acknowledged their origin. On looking around, my curiosity was excited by a hut in ruins; and I was induced to inquire why thorns and branches, &c. were laid in such order about its fallen roof: upon which, they told us that it was the dwelling of their captain's late wife, and now her grave. Being a woman of rank, she had been allowed to die in her habitation: a hole was then dug in the centre of the floor to receive her corpse, and after carefully burying her, they had cut away the pillars and foundation of the house, and thrown down the whole to decay upon the spot upon which her hands had placed them. No one dared to take a stick or a twig from this pile for any purpose whatever.

The promise of a few buttons induced one of the men to accompany us as guide down into the Mapoozi, whose banks are occupied by the Amachess. In these lovely and picturesque valleys, the horrid alarum of war had again and again been heard. Human bones were scattered about on every side, together with heaps upon heaps of ashes, the only remains of former dwellings. Within a few paces of one of the hamlets, I picked up a scull that was lying bleaching in the sun with part of the pericranium upon it quite fresh. Here it was that

the clans above mentioned were attacked by Chaka's warriors, who rushed down from the adjacent heights like a torrent; and while the men were endeavouring to secure their herds, the poor women and children were, as usual, left either to flee or perish. Defence was out of the question, as they had not the means; and hence concealment became the only subterfuge of which they could at all avail themselves. But, alas! in their flight to the forest, numbers were awfully cut off, and fell to rise no more!

Crossing the hills on our left, we at once came into full view of the deep and sinuous channel of the Umtata. Its banks were here exceedingly precipitous, insomuch, that riding down was impossible, and even walking was in some places not very safe. After a fatiguing scramble, however, we reached the bed of the river, and forded it without much difficulty. A mile or two more brought us among those of the natives who claim the honour of European lineage. The appearance of the first we met with particularly struck me, being much whiter than I had expected to find them. On riding up to his *umzi*, he came running out to salute us; and very soon gave us to understand, both by words and signs, that, as he had a special claim upon our attention, he hoped we should not merely notice the colour of his skin, but leave him a present behind. For this he was much more clamorous than his companions, and in various ways strove to excite our sympathy. At one time he feigned sickness; at another idiocy; and at last, finding that all was of no avail, he had recourse to the common artifice, declaring he had had a dream the preceding night, in which it was made known to him that two of his white friends were on their way bringing various presents for him. Such dreams are regarded as binding upon those whom the vision concerns, and hence he appeared quite confident that we should no longer withstand his importunity.

While talking with him, a strong powerful man came hopping out of a neighbouring hut, with one foot bound up; and, on inquiry, we learned that it had been pierced through with a lance four or five months before. "On that hill," said he, "Gazana and Cetani fought; with shield and umkoneto, we went to their help; and then was I wounded in the manner you see." So common are these bloody broils, even in the absence of foreign

foes, that every man deems it necessary to hold his weapons in constant readiness; and no sooner is the war-whoop sounded than all around fly to the scene of action, without ever inquiring why or wherefore. Having reached the spot, each man is guided in his determination as to the part he is to take by interest and circumstances. Seldom or ever is it asked, Who is in the right, or where lies the wrong? But, Who is the strongest party; and where is spoil most certain? For the sake of a few head of cattle, no man cares, on such occasions, to stab his neighbour to the heart: nor do such sanguinary deeds appear to be followed up with any degree of compunction whatever. In the course of a few weeks, they are adverted to with as much indifference as though a reed only had been blown down by the winds of heaven.

We now came to another elbow of the Umtata, where the bank-scenery on both sides was rich beyond description. A more charming spot I scarcely ever saw. The green hills on each hand; the thick groves, through which our path wound; the rugged precipices of various hues rising perpendicularly from the water's edge, and studded here and there with small shrubs shooting out of the different clefts; the dark hanging forests on the distant heights; herds of cattle, and small hamlets; together with the beautiful broad stream gliding along at our feet, and met by the tide from below (the estuary being but three or four miles off),—formed, altogether, one of the finest landscapes that can be conceived. While admiring the beauties of nature, thus liberally scattered over a small tract of country, twelve or fifteen miles in circumference, and sighing over the benighted people around me, who were evidently as insensible of the Creator's wisdom, power, and skill as they were of his grace, I was constrained afresh to say,

> "Should he command me to the farthest verge
> Of the green earth, to distant barb'rous tribes,
> Rivers unknown to song, 'tis naught to me;
> Since God is ever present, ever felt,
> In the void waste as in the city full."

The narrowness of our road obliged us to proceed very slowly; and this enabled me to indulge in reveries induced by the scene. These, however, were at length suddenly disturbed by a shout from the interpreter.

"There," said he, "lie the sea-cows" (hippopotami), directing our attention towards the opposite bank.* The animals, about fifteen in number, were all laid upon a heap, like so many pigs fast asleep; partly in and partly out of the water. Some of them were completely immersed, with the exception of their heads, which were but just above the surface; while others exhibited their prodigious carcasses entire. Being all so closely huddled together, and perfectly still, and their colour resembling that of rising pieces of rock frequently seen along the seashore, some minutes elapsed before I could give Willem credit for the correctness of his opinion. Of this, however, he soon furnished us with ocular and demonstrative proof. By scrambling along the front of the precipices, he managed to place himself in a parallel line with the unsightly mass, and from thence fired among them, which produced the utmost confusion. All started from their bed, as if astounded, and at a loss to conceive of the cause. One or two instantly plunged into the deep, and there concealed themselves; but the

* It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the singular barrenness of many parts of the country, there should have been found within eight or nine degrees of latitude from the Cape point, the largest, as well as the most minute, objects in almost every class of the animal world. Thus, like the ostrich and creeper among the feathered tribes, among the beasts we have the elephant and the black-streaked mouse; the one weighing four thousand pounds, the other about the fourth part of an ounce; the camelopardalis, seventeen feet high, and the little elegant zenik, or viverra, of three inches. Here too, as above stated, is the abode of the prodigious hippopotamus, more bulky, though not so high as the elephant: and also the rhinoceros, equally ponderous and sow-like in its formation. Of the thirty different species of antelope known in natural history, this country alone possesses eighteen. Besides these, there is the largest of the eland or oreas that exists, six feet high; together with the little pigmy, or royal antelope, which is little more than six inches. The spring-bok, or leaping antelope, is, as before observed, sometimes met with in herds of four or five thousand. The lion, the leopard, the panther, and various species of the tiger-cat are likewise indigenous; but not the striped tiger of India. The wolf, hyena, and three or four different kinds of jackals are everywhere found; as also the ant-eater, the iron hog, or crested porcupine, the viverra, that burrows in the ground, the jerboa, nearly allied to the kangaroo, and several species of hares. Buffaloes infest the woods and thickets; and many of the plains abound with zebras; with the stronger and more elegant-shaped quacha; as well as with whole herds of the singular gnoo, partaking of the form of the ox, the horse, the antelope, and the stag. In the mountains there are numerous and large troops of that disgusting animal, the dog-faced baboon; and likewise swarms of apes and monkeys of all sizes.

greater part of the herd, apparently half-asleep, stood for a moment or two, not knowing what course to take. One had manifestly received the ball, and evinced indubitable symptoms of pain, but did not disappear until a second had been lodged in his back. The whole were now fully awake, as the report of the gun seemed to inspire them with a consciousness of danger, inducing every one to get under water without further delay. There, however, the wounded animal could not long bear to stay, but ever and anon came to the surface, and made towards the bank, as if in intolerable agony. It seemed wishful indeed to get out of the river altogether, and repeatedly essayed to do so: but, as if fearing its unknown antagonists, the amphibious creature again and again returned to the depths of its watery haunt. Two reasons were assigned by one of my fellow-travellers for its anxiety to make the land; one of which was, that the salt water increased its pain, a thing not at all improbable. "But this," said he, "is not the only cause of its restlessness. The moment its companions feel the smell of blood, they furiously tear, and beat it out of their society."

Two of our people at Butterworth nearly lost their lives a week or two before, while pursuing one of these inhabitants of the stream. Being out on the banks of the Kae, one moonlight night, they fell in with, and fired upon, a female that was grazing among the trees. She instantly ran off and plunged into the river; and while they stood looking after her, the male, which was also grazing hard-by, but unperceived, came galloping down towards them. The weight of his huge carcass providentially gave it an ungovernable degree of velocity, and prevented his turning either to the right-hand or to the left; hence, although he passed within a yard or two of one of the men, who, paralyzed with fear, cried, "Lord, save me, or I shall be crushed to atoms!" he was unable so much as to touch him!

In one of the paths on the river's brink I observed sharp-pointed posts obliquely fixed in the ground, with the view of piercing these aquatic monsters as they slide off the bank, after their midnight excursions for food. Such is one of the plans adopted by the natives for catching them, and another is that of digging pit-falls; but neither the one nor the other seems to be very successful. Some of the clans kill them by means of poisoned

darts, which are their best substitute for firearms; for of the latter they are wholly destitute. These are eighteen or twenty inches long, pointed with sharp pieces of iron, loosely fixed into strong handles, six or seven feet in length. The latter, of course, give force to the darts, and immediately drop off the moment they have entered, leaving the barbs, with all the poison about them, to work their way into the inside of the animal. Thus armed, the native places himself in ambush in some well-known walk of the hippopotamus, and, while it is silently browsing, plunges his deadly instrument into its side. It instantly flies to the river, where he leaves it until the following day, and then returns to secure his prey. Having cut away the flesh round about where the dart entered, he carries home, and fearlessly uses, all the rest. The food of this singular creature, although so large,* consists simply of grass or herbage; and its flesh is therefore regarded as being both good and wholesome. In point of appearance it is not much unlike bacon, and has nothing unpleasant or strong in the taste. The inhabitants of the surrounding hamlets quickly heard what had happened, and, like so many eagles, eagerly flocked to the spot; but, as night was rapidly approaching, we were obliged to proceed, and hence left them to enjoy the feast.

Our quickened pace soon brought us to a circle of shattered huts, belonging to one of Daapa's sons; from whom we obtained all necessary information, and like-

* Zeringhi, an Italian surgeon, procured one of these animals on the banks of the Nile, which measured seventeen feet from the extremity of the snout to the insertion of the tail; sixteen feet round the body, and above seven feet in height. The head alone was nearly four feet long, and upwards of nine feet in circumference. The jaws opened about two feet; and its cutting teeth (four in each jaw) were about a foot long. The feet of the hippopotamus very much resemble those of the elephant; and are divided into four parts. The tail is short, flat, and pointed; the hide amazingly thick, and covered over with a few scattered hairs, of a whitish colour. The whole figure of the animal is somewhat between that of an ox and a hog; and its cry something between the bellowing of the one and the grunting of the other. It seldom attacks, unless attacked: but "I have seen," says a mariner, according to Dampier, "a hippopotamus open its jaws after having been struck, and seizing a boat with its teeth, at once bit and sunk it to the bottom. And on another occasion, placing itself under one of our boats, it rose, and completely upset it; together with six men who were in it, but who happily escaped without further injury."

wise a guide to the place whither we were bound. Here arose a question as to what was to be done with the scull I had got (and which, for certain reasons, I determined to preserve), as in the event of its being observed, or of any of the people getting an idea that such a thing was really in our possession, all would conclude at once that we were carrying about the much dreaded powers and purposes of witchcraft. Knowing this, and deeming it imprudent unnecessarily to arouse their prejudices, we carefully concealed it under the bushes, where it remained until our return. While conversing with Willem upon the subject, he informed us that one of their celebrated sorcerers was in the habit of keeping a certain quantity of milk in human sculls, with the view of injuring those against whom his evil designs might at any time be formed; and that, under a show of hospitality, he frequently administered draughts of this syllabub to the unsuspecting stranger, to occasion his death!

After slowly winding about out of one dismally dark glen into another, our leader abruptly left us, saying, "There's the path: keep it." A crooked one indeed it was; and several others, no less so, branched off both to the right and left. At length, however, the sound of the bellowing herd, together with the noise of calves, determined the direction in which we ought to proceed, and at once led us down to the old chief's residence. This was wretched enough; nevertheless, the naked inmates seemed to be deriving a world of happiness from idly squatting around the fire, and chatting about matters that formed the topics of every day's conversation. On inquiring for Daapa, we were directed to some old huts at a distance; but before we reached them he himself came running after us. Alighting from our horses, we shook hands with him, and he expressed himself as being very glad to see us. He then ordered a hut to be swept out, and appropriated to our use during the night: of this we gladly availed ourselves, and made of the floor the best bed we were able: though hard, habit and fatigue rendered even this easy.

Scarcely had we taken our seats before several juvenile visiters crowded in and sat down by our side, without either invitation or ceremony. As if for the purpose of amusing us, one of them, a fine-looking girl, very gravely commenced a long and marvellous story about the wolf; all which turned out to be a complete fabrica-

tion. These poor children literally "go astray from their mother's womb, telling lies."

After seeing us housed, the old chief left us, but presently returned, warrior-like, with a long broad-bladed lance in his hand. Desiring to know why he carried so formidable a weapon at his advanced period of life, he very spiritedly replied, saying, "To defend myself against wolves and wild men, who ramble about in the dark." His only covering consisted of an old dirty check shirt, that had been presented to him by the late unfortunate adventurers Cowie and Green, who perished on their way overland from Delagoa Bay to the colony, in April, 1829. Although a complete Kaffer in his habits and manners, his countenance and features are strikingly European. Up to this period, I had not been able to rid myself of a certain degree of skepticism respecting his origin, although the facts had been reported by individuals whose veracity could scarcely be doubted. A sight of the man, however, fully convinced me of the accuracy of their statements; and, instead of being influenced by mere curiosity, I now felt deeply interested, and determined on collecting as much of his history as memory and tradition would afford.

Like every other Kaffer chieftain, his first and loudest complaint was, "Poverty, poverty; the calves are all dead; the cattle are all dying; we have no milk; the children are perishing!" Such complaints have generally a twofold object. First, either to enhance the value of an intended present, or to excuse themselves from making one; and, secondly, to serve as a plea in begging something or other of their visiters. We endeavoured to point out to the old man the impropriety and sinfulness of such assertions, seeing, that at the very door of our hut he had a large fold full of cattle, and another nearly filled with calves. Although somewhat slender in person, he has evidently been a powerful and very active man; and for warlike exploits is greatly celebrated. Now, however, he bends beneath the weight of years, and totters on the verge of the grave. His ignorance is deplorable in the extreme. After supping on a bit of broiled meat, we sang a hymn, and then addressed all present on the subject of divine things: but these were evidently quite strange to them. While prayer was offered up to Heaven, the old pagan was wholly engaged in picking up a few beads that had been

scattered about upon the floor. I subsequently endeavoured to enforce the duty of earnestly imploring the blessing of God upon himself, his family, and his people: upon which he exclaimed, "Yea, yea, I do pray: I pray that *Udali* may give us more cattle, more corn, and more pumpkins!"

Tuesday, 16*th*.—Never until this morning did I see oyster and muscle-shells scattered about the door of a Kaffer hut. None of the Amaxosian clans will eat fish at all; but here stern necessity seems to have subdued all scruple. Daapa's hamlet lies right between the Umtata and Umdoombi; the latter of which rivers runs at the very foot of the verdant eminence whereon his miserable dwelling is erected. It overlooks several beautiful glens, in which the scenery is rich beyond description; and likewise commands a full view of the ocean, not more than a mile or two distant. The surrounding hills were clothed with abundance of grass, and the deep shades of the forest richly variegated by a thousand different tints. Here indeed every prospect is pleasing; and only man is vile. To get into this charming spot with a wagon would be almost impossible, as nature seems to have barricadoed it. Behind are deep ravines; in front, the sea; and rivers on each side: so that it appears to be marked out as a place of defence.

About eight o'clock A.M., the old chief again visited us, bringing with him one of the spears he had often used in battle,* and which he now presented to me, as a token of respect for his "mother's countrymen." Of this circumstance I took advantage for the prosecution of further inquiry respecting his history, and desired to know why he had always resided so near the sea. "Because," said he, "it is my mother. From thence I sprang; and from thence I am fed when hungry." This I am told is a figure of speech frequently used by him in reference to the wreck of his mother, and the supply of fish which he and his people obtain from the deep in cases of emergency.

He repeatedly stated, and that in the most unequivocal manner, that his mother was white as ourselves, which testimony was fully confirmed by several of the natives, who knew her well. "Her hair," added he,

* This spear is now in the Wesleyan Missionary Museum, 77 Hatton Garden, London.

"was first like yours,—long and black; but before she died it was quite white." Whatever might have been her original name, Quma seems to be the one by which she was here most generally known. It is clear, from circumstances and the most positive data, that she was not one of the party belonging to the unfortunate Grosvenor, lost in the year 1782. The vessel in which she was wrecked was cast ashore at the mouth of the Lauwambaz, a small river some miles to the eastward of the Zimvooboo. Several other individuals were wrecked at the same time, but respecting their number and names Cetani, one of her grandsons who resided with her until he came to years of maturity, and with whom she spent her last days, gives by far the most satisfactory account. He states that five persons besides his grandmother "came out of the *Ulwaanhla*;" and that the following were their names, viz., Ibadi, whom he calls her father; Upaneya, a brother; Bomboss, another brother; Noqualekiza, a sister; and Colaz, another sister.

We must here, however, remark, that their being all regarded as so many branches of one and the same family is, I think, to be attributed to the circumstance of their all "coming out of the sea" together, rather than to any actual relationship; and their dwelling together would further strengthen, in the native mind, the idea of their being all of one house. That Bomboss was not Quma's brother is sufficiently clear from Daapa's statement, which represents him as being a black man; and that there were persons of colour among them is evident from Van Reenen's narrative. On the return of that enterprising gentleman from a visit to those unfortunate people in the latter end of 1790, he remarks, "We found that they were descendants from whites, some, too, from slaves of mixed colour, and natives of the East Indies.* The number of females mentioned by him exactly agrees with the account given by Cetani; who, however, does not corroborate Van Reenen's assertion relative to their being all the wives of one chief. Two out of the three seem either to have married persons of inferior rank, or to have been wives of an inferior order; for very little is now known concerning either them or their offspring. When cast ashore, the females were all young; and hence easily initiated

* Van Reenen's Journal, Nov. 4th, 1790.

into the customs and manners of the country, which would doubtless tend to render the natives much more kind and attentive to them.

The very name of Quma is immortalized in the annals of Kaffer history, from the circumstance of her having been taken to wife by a principal chief. He was more than ordinarily attached to her, and therefore constituted her head of his household, which gave her great power and influence. It does not, however, appear that they had any issue; nor did he long survive their union. But soon after his death Usangoo, his brother, likewise a chieftain, determined on marrying "the white woman," although contrary to law, this strictly prohibiting the marriage of any man with his brother's wife. Nevertheless "Usangoo," said he, "must have her; and therefore Usangoo, in this case, sets the law aside." With him she retained all the power and influence vested in her by her former husband; and had, moreover, the first place in his affections, as well as the highest in his house. He had two other wives, but she was uniformly acknowledged, and looked up to by the whole clan, as the "great woman," or queen. Nor was it her colour merely that secured to her his attachment and general esteem; she manifestly possessed a noble and generous spirit, which rendered her greatly beloved among the people. Those of the natives who enjoyed her acquaintance still speak of her in terms of the highest respect. "When Quma our eyes saw," said one, "the hungry were always fed."

By her, Usangoo had five children who lived to years of maturity, and two or three others that are said to have died in childhood. Of the former number, Kye, the eldest, was a daughter; Gala, the next, a son; and Umlawu, the third, likewise a son; then follows Daapa, and after him another daughter, of the name of Bess,—an evident abbreviation of Betsy, which, in all probability, was the original name of one of the shipwrecked party, if not of the mother herself. The eldest daughter, together with the two eldest sons, have long been dead, so that Daapa and his youngest sister are now the only survivors; left, as it were, to tell their mother's tale, to hand down to posterity the memory of her unhappy fate, and to call forth the Christian sympathies of our country in behalf of her perishing progeny, as well as of the benighted land into which she was cast. Had

these two been dead ere the facts of the case could have been fully established, the traditionary accounts of her affecting history, given by the fourth or fifth generation, might have been regarded as mere romance.

Some are inclined to think that Usangoo belonged to the Boovana branch of the Amaponedæ; but it appears much more probable that he was a descendant of Quea, who is said to have been a chief of considerable eminence, and ruler of one of the principal branches of that tribe. The whole of Usangoo's descendants, together with the remnant of his followers now under the acknowledged chieftainship of Dapaa, are designated "Amaquea," which appellation manifestly comes from Quea, the chief just mentioned. *Ama* is, in the Kaffer tongue, a general prefix by which the plural is formed, as *amadoda* (men); *amapakati* (counsellors, or warriors), &c.

Daapa informed us that his mother lived and died near the little Umgazi River, which is but a few miles to the westward of Umzimvooboo; and this statement is confirmed by his nephew, under whose care she was at the close of life. Every account shows that she lived to a good old age, and went down to the grave full of days, twenty-two or three years ago. It would also appear, from a variety of circumstances, that her day was a much more peaceable one than that of her descendants. How far her presence and influence operated in stilling the active and warlike spirits around her, and in preventing local feuds, which are now ever and anon breaking out, is, of course, hard to say; this, however, all frankly acknowledge, that "the word of Quma was a great word;" that is to say, it possessed weight which was calculated to effect great things. From Mr. Van Reenan's narrative, it is evident that she and her numerous family were, at the time of his visit, all living together in apparent harmony at the place above mentioned. On the 5th of November, he observes, "we passed the little Mogazi River, on the banks of which is situated the Bastaard* Village, where they have very extensive and handsome gardens, planted with Kaffer corn, maize, sugar-canes, plantains, potatoes, black beans, and many other things; they had also some cattle." Of their

* The Dutch word "Bastaard," as here used by Mr R., who was himself a Dutchman, signifies a mulatto, or person of mixed breed.

situation he had been previously apprized by the natives whom he met on the way, and from whom he obtained certain information respecting their character and origin. When returning to the colony, "I would have taken," says Mr. R., "the three old women with us, but they mentioned their desire, before they could accomplish such a plan, of waiting till their harvest-time, to gather in their crops; adding, that for this reason they would at present rather remain with their children and grandchildren; after which, with their whole race, to the amount of four hundred, they would be happy to depart from their present settlement." Although then old, and sunk in the manners and habits of savage life, these poor females were, nevertheless, far from being insensible of their degraded situation; for, from the same traveller we learn, that "they appeared to be exceedingly agitated at seeing people of their own complexion and description." The sweet potato, which they seem to have added to the native stock of vegetables in this quarter, still continues to be extensively cultivated; which fact is the more remarkable, inasmuch as none of the other tribes pay any attention to the culture of this useful root whatever.

Daapa distinctly recollects the visit of Van Reenen, and many of the circumstances connected with it. One occurrence then took place, which, to him, ever afterward constituted a painful memento. A boor, who journeyed along with Mr. R., succeeded in persuading one of his sons to accompany them back to the colony; whence he never returned. From his observations on this subject, it had evidently been a source of frequent and considerable uneasiness. Being informed, however, that certain inquiries had been made respecting him—that he was yet alive, and that there was some prospect of his return at no very distant period, the aged parent's manner and looks seemed impressively to say, "O that I might see him before I die!"

At that time the Amaquean territory extended along the coast from the Umtata to the Umzimvooboo; near which, as before stated, they then resided. Scarcely, however, had the late Chaka established himself at Port Natal, before he commenced his attack upon various clans lying between that point and the river last mentioned; eastward of which the main body of the Amaponedæ then dwelt. For some time these nobly, and

with distinguished bravery, withstood him, again and again driving back his forces in disgrace. At length, however, he came down in overwhelming numbers, so that they were constrained to give him the field, and fall back upon their neighbours. This, in all probability, tended in a great measure to disperse the European clan; which have proved themselves most desperate warriors ever since. Their hand has been uplifted against every one, and every one's hand against them; insomuch that their strength has been completely wasted, and they are now exceedingly feeble, and miserably poor. It is said that Daapa's antagonists seldom dared to attack him, when in his prime, with less than double or treble his force; "For," said one, when accounting for his extraordinary valour, "he and his men have the white man's blood in them!"

Like every other chief, he has several wives; none of whom, however, live with him, excepting one: all the rest are scattered about among different branches of the family, and perhaps seldom or never see him. The number of his children is twenty-two; among whom there are eleven sons, all of whom have attained the age of manhood. The eldest seems to be about forty-five, and, in point of appearance, is one of the most haggard, filthy, and ill-looking natives I ever met with. Some of the others, also, are any thing but handsome: their black shaggy beards, long visages, eyes somewhat sunk, prominent noses, and dirty-white skins give them a wild and very unpleasant aspect. One of his sons, named Johnny, was drowned while hunting, a few weeks prior to our visit. "The mad fellow," said the old man, "must needs throw away his life for the sake of a buck that was running on the opposite side of the river."

His sister Bess is considerably younger than he,—and, until lately, resided in the same neighbourhood; but her husband having, in the beginning of the year, evinced great treachery towards his nephew Cetan, a misunderstanding arose, which occasioned their removal to a greater distance. Shortly after this occurrence he died; so that she is now a widow, and lives upon the western bank of the Umpakoo. One of her daughters was some years ago married to Dushani, S'Lhambi's eldest son; a fact which, together with many others, shows that the descendants of Quma and her unhappy

companions are now scattered about to a very considerable extent.

The houses of the Amaponedæ are in general considerably larger than those of the Amaxosæ, and constitute calf-stalls as well as lodging-rooms. This circumstance, coupled with the extreme indolence of their occupants, fully accounts for the interior of these hovels being in most instances filthy beyond measure. The thatch, which consists of long grass, is often the harbour of myriads of insects; and among these there is one description which is not less annoying than prolific. It is nearly the size of a bug, and has much the same appearance; but its penetrative powers are of a far more formidable character. Not satisfied with merely piercing the skin, it literally buries itself in the flesh; so that to dislodge it is as difficult as it is painful. In the hot season their numbers are astonishingly great; and in some situations both man and beast suffer from them severely. The stranger especially must calculate upon being attacked by hundreds in the course of the night, and upon rising from his slumbers with many a smarting blister. I one day saw a horse that had in a great measure been destroyed by them; and this was said to be no uncommon case in the lowlands near the sea. The poor animal was completely drained by the swarms which had attacked him: they had made their way into his ears, and likewise into his nostrils, the very cartilage of which was actually perforated in several places. The natives do not suffer so much from them as we do. Their swarthy skins are better armed against such an enemy; and the unctuous matter with which they anoint themselves may probably render them less liable to their attacks.

CHAPTER XV.

Child seized by a wolf—An amusing incident—Capabilities of the country—Zimvooboo River—Deleterious roots—The honey-bird—Amaponedo ale—Festivities of "harvest-home"—Peculiar head-dresses—Edeeni, or sacrifices—War-songs—Scenes at Amadola—Mission to Daapa's clan—The assistant killed—Quetoo, a Zoolah captain—Lochenberg's fate—Lieutenant Farewell and company massacred—Terrible career of Amaquabi—A remarkable providence—Mission property destroyed—The enemy slain.

Tuesday, 16*th*.—SELFISHNESS seems to be one of the most prominent features of the human character. On presenting Daapa with certain articles I had brought for him, the whole of his family instantly gathered round, and clamorously contended for a share. Although not worth many shillings altogether, he concealed them with as much care as if life itself depended upon them; while his surly sons, in no very measured terms, rudely reproached him, "as a dog running off with its bone, in order to enjoy the pickings alone." Neither age nor rank, nor yet the ties of nature, can here preserve a bending parent from the abuse and insults of his own household; nor does he himself care to see the authority of the chief and the dignity of the sire wantonly trampled under foot while endeavouring to secure a few paltry trinkets. This fact alone, independently of every other, affectingly exhibits the deplorable influence of paganism, and likewise serves to demonstrate the excellence of Christianity. While this supports the parent's glory by a divine command, "Honour thy father and thy mother," &c., that uniformly renders men "lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy," &c. 2 Timothy iii. 2.

"In all rude nations, the dependence of children upon their parents is of shorter continuance than in polished societies; little instruction being necessary to fit them for that mode of life to which they are destined. When men must be trained to the various functions of civil life by previous discipline and education,—when the

knowledge of abstruse sciences must be taught, and dexterity in intricate arts must be acquired, before a young man is prepared to begin his career of action,—the attentive feelings of a parent are not confined to the years of infancy, but extend to what is more remote, the establishment of his child in the world. Even then his solicitude does not terminate. His protection may still be requisite, and his wisdom and experience still prove useful guides. Thus a permanent connexion is formed; parental tenderness is exercised, and filial respect returned throughout the whole course of life. But in the savage state, parents, as if their duty were accomplished when they have conducted their children through the helpless years of infancy, leave them afterward at entire liberty. Even in their tender age, they seldom advise or admonish—they never chide or chastise them. They suffer them to be absolute masters of their own actions. In the *wigwam*, or the hut, a father, a mother, and their posterity live together like persons assembled by accident, without seeming to feel the obligation of the duties mutually arising from this connexion. As filial love is not cherished by the continuance of attention or good offices, the recollection of benefits received in early infancy is too faint to excite it. Conscious of their own liberty, and impatient of restraint, the youth under such circumstances are accustomed to act as if they were totally independent. Their parents are seldom objects of greater regard than other persons. They treat them generally with neglect, and often with such harshness and insolence as to fill those who have been witnesses of their conduct with horror. Thus the ideas which seem to be natural to man in his savage state, as they result necessarily from his circumstances and condition in that period of his progress, affect the two capital relations in domestic life. They render, as before demonstrated, the union between husband and wife unequal. They shorten the duration and weaken the force of the connexion between parents and children."*

Just as we were arranging for our departure, Badjala, Daapa's eldest son, arrived with the shocking intelligence that a wolf in the course of the night had entered one of the houses, and actually bitten off the cap of a

* Robertson's History of America. Book iv. p. 355, 356.

child's knee. The frequency of injury sustained by the inroads of this nocturnal visiter has induced an astonishing degree of supineness and indifference in the minds of the people: hence, dreadful as this accident was, scarcely any one asked a second question about it. And although it is well known that the beast is prowling about their doors every night, no man troubles himself respecting any new contrivance whereby the entrance to their huts might be rendered more secure. Their inventive powers, indeed, are rendered pitiably inert on almost every subject of public interest, by an obstinate and tenacious adherence to the plans and practices of their forefathers.

As we have already remarked, one or more native women are usually employed in each of the gardens during the summer season to prevent the ripening crops from being destroyed by birds or straying cattle. While thus engaged, they erect for themselves small huts or sheds, which constitute their only habitations as long as this field-labour lasts. Through one of these enclosures, not far from my station, a wolf one night happened to roam in search of prey; and seeing the lodge-door partly open, he silently intruded. On the floor were lying a man and woman fast asleep, and consequently unconscious of their danger. Of this opportunity the hungry beast immediately availed himself, and unceremoniously disturbed their repose. Seizing the poor fellow by the leg, he dragged him out, and was only induced to let go his hold by the noise and confusion which shortly followed. The screams of the man, added to those of his terrified paramour, instantly raised a hue-and-cry in the neighbourhood, and several hasted to ascertain the cause. But when, on inquiry, it was found that the parties were adulterers, the sufferer became an object of reproach and contempt, rather than of pity or sympathy. "Right," said one, "did Satan do in sending *incnuka* thus to punish him, seeing that he had seduced his neighbour's wife." The sinews of his leg were so seriously injured as to render him a cripple for life; and the story of his detection often proves a source of great amusement.

We now took leave of the old chief, and pursued our course along the eastern bank of the Umtata. As on the opposite side, so also on this, the country is much broken: the traveller is now upon the summit, or cau-

tiously moving along the declivities of a mountain, and then slowly making his way among high grass and bushes in the bottom of the valley. The soil being rich and moist, vegetation is extraordinarily luxuriant, and nature is evidently prepared to yield a bountiful supply both for man and beast. But, alas! instead of fields of corn, or cultivated grounds, we everywhere met with heaps of ashes, broken down enclosures, and manifest marks of dreadful carnage. When peace shall pervade the land, and the plough take the place of the spear, this part will doubtless become one of the most beautiful portions of Southern Africa. The water is much better, and more abundant, than in most other places, for numerous little rills are found in all the different sections of country by which the larger rivers are separated; and the latter, being fed from almost every glen and ravine on each side, acquire a depth and magnitude which at some future period will, in all probability, render them streams of considerable importance. Among these the Zimvooboo holds a distinguished rank, and is indeed one of the finest rivers on the coast. The tide appears to reciprocate at the distance of sixteen or twenty miles from its mouth; and unless some undiscovered bar should render ingress and egress unsafe, there is every reason to believe that it would be navigable to that extent by vessels of small burden. Herds of hippopotami harbour in its deep waters,—from which circumstance it would seem to have derived its name; this literally signifying hippopotamus: while the dense forests along its banks are as thickly inhabited by the elephant tribe.

All whom we met exhibited visible signs of extreme poverty; and numbers were busily employed in collecting various kinds of bulbaceous roots, having no other means of subsistence. Among these was one which, from its effects, would appear to be of a very deleterious quality, but which they, nevertheless, contrive to render edible. Its native name is *ceholo*, and when growing it has somewhat the appearance of a species of *climatus*. Its effect upon the human system is said to be deadly, if used in any quantity without being properly prepared. One old man informed me, that he was alarmingly convulsed two or three years ago in consequence of eating a very small piece before fully fit for use. His arms and legs became completely stiff; and

he, at the same time, experienced something like tetanus or lockjaw. Recourse was immediately had to the usual remedy, which, although exceedingly simple, appears to obtain general confidence. This consists of nothing more than a bit of broiled hide with the hair upon it; on eating which, the old patient assured me he obtained almost instantaneous relief. The manner in which they prepare this root (generally about the size of an ordinary potato) is also worthy of remark. It is first boiled; then cut into slices, and put into a stream of running water, where they leave it for several hours, often a whole day: they then boil it a second time, and afterward serve it up mashed, and mixed with sour milk.

Descending into the deeper recesses of the Umtata, we were again encompassed with native villages and a dense population. The view here embraced several groves, enlivened by flocks of birds; which, although destitute of song, were rich beyond measure in plumage. The beautiful green Laury seemed quite common, as was also a singular description of king-fisher, and some of the cockatoo species. The honey-bird likewise, or bee-cuckoo (*cuculus indicator*), which is well known throughout Southern Africa, is frequently met with in these parts. This interesting little creature is about the size of the common sparrow, and is celebrated for its peculiar faculty of discovering the nests or hives of wild bees. It feeds upon honey, and upon the larvæ of insects; but as it cannot, without assistance, gain access to the nests, usually constructed in hollow trees, crevices of the rocks, or holes in the ground, nature has furnished it with the singular instinct of calling to its aid certain other animals, and especially man himself, to enable it to attain its object.

Sparrman, the Swedish traveller and naturalist, informs us, that the ratel, or honey-badger (*gulo mellivorus*), is led by the cry of the honey-bird, and hereby discovers the retreats of the bees, whose treasure it easily secures when deposited in the ground. But as the ratel cannot climb, those hives which are built up in hollow trees are safe from his assaults. To reach these, the honey-bird is said to call to its aid the wood-pecker; a bird which, although unaccustomed to eating honey, has no objection to bees' eggs or larvæ. Be this as it may, it is certain that the natives, when in search of wild

honey, always look out for the bee-cuckoo to guide them. "It is indeed merely with a view to its own interest," says Sparrman, "that the *cuculus indicator* discovers the bees' nests to man, and to the ratel race, as it is extremely fond both of honey and bees' eggs; and knows well, that when a bee's nest is plundered some of the honey is spilt, which, consequently, falls to its share, or else some part is left by the plunderers as a reward for its services. Nevertheless, the way in which this bird communicates to others the discovery it has made is as surprising as it is well adapted to that purpose."

The morning and the evening are the times when the honey-bird shows the greatest inclination to come forth; and with its peculiar cry of *cherr*, *cherr*, *cherr*, to claim the attention, as it were, of its associate plunderer, the ratel, or of such human allies as it can meet with. If any one follows it, the bird, continually repeating its cry of *cherr*, *cherr*, flies on slowly, and by degrees, towards the spot where the hive which it wishes to plunder is concealed. The natives, when thus invited, are careful not to frighten their guide by any unusual noise, or by following it in too numerous a body; but one or two go forward quietly, answering it now and then with a soft and very gentle whistle, by way of letting the bird know that its call is attended to. Sparrman, who was a careful observer of the habits of animals, says, he noticed, "that when the bees' nest was at a considerable distance, the bird, for the most part, made long stages or flights, waiting for its sporting companion between each flight, and calling to him again to come on; but flew to shorter distances, and repeated its cry more frequently, and with greater earnestness, in proportion as they approached nearer to the nest. I likewise saw with astonishment," said he, "what I had been previously told by others, that when this bird, by reason of its great impatience, has got too far ahead of its followers, especially when, in consequence of the roughness or unevenness of the ground, they have not been able to keep pace with it, it has flown back to meet them, and with redoubled cries, denoting still greater impatience, has upbraided them for being so tardy. Finally, when it has arrived at the nest, whether built in the cleft of a rock, in a hollow tree, or in some cavity in the earth, it hovers over the spot for several seconds, a circumstance which I

myself have been eyewitness to twice; this done, it sits in silence, and for the most part concealed, in some neighbouring tree or bush, in expectation of the result, and with a view of coming in for its share of the booty."

The aborigines and colonists also, when they have, by the aid of this little creature, found and plundered a hive, usually leave it a portion of the worst part of the honey-comb, and especially that part in which the young bees are hatching, and which, for the bird, is probably not the least delicate morsel. It appears to be a rule with some who are much in the habit of searching for honey, to deal out but a very scanty portion of the spoils to this useful bird, lest its appetite should be satiated, and other hives in the neighbourhood consequently remain undiscovered. Out of gratitude for its services as a *honing-wizer*, (honey-discoverer, by which name it is generally known in the colony), the Hottentots are particularly careful never to shoot this bird; nor will they on any account plunder or destroy its nest. This, like those of several other small birds in Southern Africa, is ingeniously woven of tough grass, or bark, in the form of a bottle, or chymist's retort, with the aperture downwards; and is suspended by a twisted string from the extremity of a branch, so as to be completely out of the reach of snakes and monkeys. In Father Lobo's Travels in Abyssinia, some account is given of a bird called the *moroc*, which appears to be precisely the same as the one just described. The Abyssinians are said to avail themselves of the services of the *moroc*, exactly as the Hottentots and Kaffers do with the honey-bird.*

As the sowing season was drawing nigh, several females had already begun to prepare their grounds along the banks of the river. With them seed-time seems to be divided into three distinct periods, which, according to our interpreter, are governed by three particular signs in nature. The shooting flower of the Kaffer-boom is regarded as the signal for planting their first crop of maize; when the wild plum-tree puts forth its blossoms, they then put in their millet, or *holcus sorghum;* and upon observing the willow's aspect changed by the advance of spring, they count it high time to sow their last crop of Indian corn.

When their crops are good and corn is plentiful, the

* Mrs. Alaric Watts's New-year's Gift.

Amaponedæ make large quantities of beer, of which, like the tribes of the interior, they are remarkably fond. Their malt is made from the common grain of the country; which, after being well steeped, is spread out upon clean mats in the open air, and in the very heat of the day. Here it is turned and re-turned, and the utmost attention paid to it until it is perfectly fit for use. It is then boiled in large earthen pots, and afterward undergoes the process of fermentation in a regular and systematic manner. Instead of hops they use a bitter root, which evidently possesses very strong medicinal properties, and which appears greatly to increase the inebriating quality of the liquor itself. This plain beverage is plentifully used on all festive occasions, and the number of these is by no means small; for, distressing as are their circumstances sometimes, these people are remarkable for their volatility. Dancing is quite a favourite amusement, in the performance of which their manner is much more vivacious and systematic than that of the more southern Kaffers. The following description of one of their assemblies is given by a traveller, who visited Fakoo in the early part of last year:—

"When we arrived at the king's hamlet we found a multitude of people assembled, and crowds of armed men kept pouring in from all directions, which, to us, portended rather a warm reception; at least, from the unfavourable character we had heard of Fakoo, some momentary doubts of his good intentions rushed across our minds, which were, however, as quickly dispelled; for instead of intending us any harm, it was a general rejoicing for having housed the corn,—'harvest-home.' The whole ended in a dance. The men, to the number of several hundreds, stood all on one side, armed with clubs, in a state of perfect nudity; their faces were painted with red and yellow earth, and their heads stuck full of feathers in a most frightful and fantastic manner. An equal number of females stood opposite them, with karosses tied loosely over the lower parts of their bodies; but their breasts, &c. were bare.

"On the challenge of one of the females, who merely advanced a little in front of the line, clapping her hands and stamping with her feet, the whole body was in motion, every woman following the example of the mistress of the ceremonies, and singing as loud as she could, while the men advanced to meet them, holding their

AN UMPONEIDO IN DANCING COSTUME.

clubs in a threatening position, more apparently with the intention of killing them than meeting them as partners in a dance. They then threw themselves into every attitude that it is possible to mould or distort the human figure into; some of which were elegant, forming the chastest models for the statuary, while others were equally grotesque, beastly, and obscene. Although the whole seemed sometimes to be one mass of confusion, yet all was conducted with the greatest regularity, the most exact time being kept to the monotonous music of all their voices combined into a rude harmony. The rough bass of the men was sometimes very fine, occasionally harmonizing exceedingly well with the uncouth air of the females. To our utter astonishment, they also sang some fugues with tolerable skill. The sound of the whole made the valley ring, and the earth seemed to tremble with the tremendous stamping of feet. Perspiration ran in streams down their distorted bodies, producing an effluvium which was by no means very grateful to our olfactory organs."

Many of the Amaponedæ are much more particular in their mode of ornamenting themselves than the Amaxosæ. Their hair is made up into various fantastic and artificial headdresses; some of which very much resemble a counsellor's wig. On our way through a valley near the Umdoombi, we passed one of Fakoo's warriors, who, with his companion, had halted to rest and refresh himself at the brook. His hair, neatly wrought up into a tuft on the crown of the head, was powdered with sibilo instead of ochre, and ornamented with small feathers of the richest colour. Across his jet-black forehead were tied two or three strings of fine white beads, very tastefully arranged. From the shoulder was suspended, like a soldier's belt, a band of larger beads; two of which are not unfrequently worn transversely. Squatted upon the ground under the spreading branches of a small mimosa, he and his comrade were enjoying themselves over a pinch of snuff; which, agreeably to custom, they took by spoonfuls, and until the tears trickled in streams down their cheeks.

When proceeding on a journey that is likely to require several days, the replenishment of his snuff-box seems to be almost the only provision about which the native seriously concerns himself previously to starting. With this hung at his breast, or fixed in the lobe of his ear,

he trudges on contentedly; and, as he is seldom in haste, he scarcely ever seems weary. Few if any of the Amaponedæ have acquired the habit of riding, horses being to them strange animals, and oxen being seldom used, excepting for the purpose of carrying luggage. Many of the females are here much more shameless than those of the lower tribes,—going perfectly naked. This circumstance may, perhaps, in many instances at least, be ascribed to their extreme poverty; having no cattle to kill, and consequently no skins wherewith to make themselves garments. Necklaces, ivory, and copper rings (of enormous size and thickness) constitute their principal and almost only ornaments. The latter, of which I have several specimens in my possession, are obtained from the tribes to the eastward, in exchange for corn and maize.

Just as night-shade fell we reached the residence of Cetani, Daapa's nephew, and Quma's grandson. The deep valley in which we found him is bounded on every hand by tremendously high mountains, whose sides, exceedingly fertile, were beautified with large patches of cultivated ground. A week or two prior to our arrival, he had been joined by a large party of the Amaceisabæ, who had deserted the service of Fakoo, their former chief. To these he had allotted a place of habitation right between himself and his old enemy Gazana; which crafty measure rendered it almost impossible for the latter again to surprise him without first disturbing his new allies.

On alighting from our horses, we observed the people slaughtering a young heifer in their usually barbarous style, and at first concluded that it was probably intended as a token of respect to their visiters; but in this we were deceived. Cetani's child having been taken ill some days previously, one of the "wise women" had been consulted respecting it, and was now deluding both parents and friends, according to custom. The old witch stated that the *shulugu* (ghost or spirit) of Gala, the infant's grandfather (many years dead), was hungry, and desirous of obtaining a little "flesh," for which he had long been looking; and that their inattention and negligence in not slaughtering for him earlier had at length induced him to afflict the child with the view of bringing them to a sense of their duty. To appease his wrath, therefore, and to remove the threatening influence of

his hand, was the object of this "*edeeni*," or sacrifice. She was of course sole director of the ceremony, and bountifully distributed the most profitable parts among her female companions, taking care, however, like the priests of Dagon and the Brahmins of India, to secure a satisfying portion for herself. When the chief and his counsellors had stolen every "titbit" upon which they were at all able to lay their hands, and the sorceress with her companions had gorged themselves to excess, poor old Gala was left to regale himself upon bones! These are generally gathered together and burnt; while to the patient is apportioned a quantity of dung, which is applied to the chest in the form of a plaster. So much for Caffrarian sacrifices; and so much too for the hope of parents, when their children are suffering from pain and sickness!

About eight o'clock P.M., the sound of singing led me to visit one of the neighbouring huts, wherein the scene was as appalling as the notes were harsh. On the fire was a large pot full of blood; and around it sat twelve or fourteen great strong fellows, perfectly naked, together with three or four women, who were about to partake of the feast. War-songs, remarkably exciting, and performed with much gesticulation, constituted the only amusements of the evening. Among these was one which Chaka's forces sang when rushing down the adjacent heights; and if any thing could add terror to the aspect of an army so formidable, this horrid war-whoop must certainly have had that effect. Far and wide was its echo heard from the tops of the neighbouring hills, where they feasted, revelled, and danced for some days. The very dogs of the Amaponedæ were seized by them, and eaten (a thing which is seldom or never done by the Kaffer), to render themselves, according to their own statement, "more fierce and powerful in battle." The appearance of the circle around me, coupled with the circumstances that were passing before my eyes, seemed to give actual life to their communications, and I felt as if placed in the very midst of the Zoolah host. Having sung until somewhat weary, the company paused; upon which I endeavoured to describe to them the difference between their songs and those of Christians.

Wednesday, 17*th*.—Amadola, the original site of Morley, which we visited last evening, is but four or five miles

from the place where we slept. The few months during which it was occupied as a station were most eventful, and therefore deserving of special remark. As already intimated, from the period of Van Reenen's visit up to the year 1828, little or no intercourse with the Amaponedæ could be effected. Several whose curiosity was excited by reports of Quma and her descendants, repeatedly endeavoured to make their way through the country, with the view of fully ascertaining the fact, but were as often prevented by intermediate chiefs, and particularly by Voosani. Influenced by jealousy, he generally appeared unwilling to allow strangers to pass into the territories of his more distant neighbours. And this obstacle continued until the establishment of our mission with Hinza, which fully cleared the way, and threw the door wide open. C. Lochenberg, the old Dutch boor who resided in the vicinage of Butterworth, and whose deplorable fate we shall presently have occasion to notice, agreed in August, 1827, to become Mr. Shrewsbury's guide to the long-talked of white chief, whose desire for a missionary he had already reported to us.

During the sittings of our annual meeting at Graham's Town, February, 1828, intelligence was received which induced an immediate and urgent representation of his call to the Missionary Committee in London. A man of considerable influence under him came down to the Butterworth station, charged with a message of inquiry as to when a missionary might be expected among them; and from his statements it appeared, that the anxiety both of chiefs and people upon this subject was increasingly great. Contention had indeed arisen between Daapa and one of the elders relative to the spot on which the missionary should reside, each urging a special claim to the honour of having him close to his own dwelling. The latter shrewdly argued, "that as Quma was first espied by his friends when cast ashore, married to one of his nearest relatives, returned to their care in her old age, and finally buried in their hamlet; and that as the mission must be regarded as springing out of her ashes, the teacher's habitation ought to stand by her grave!" Daapa, on the other hand, contended, saying, "The institution must be mine; for I first called the *Umfundis*, and he comes at my request." The messenger being informed that a missionary would be the

friend of all, and that the grand object of his mission would be to promote unity and peace among them, was well pleased, and departed, saying, "Daapa says, I am now very ill; let the *Umfundis* soon come, that he may bury my bones." Before their wishes, however, could be met, the dreadful scourge already alluded to went through the land; and it was not until the beginning of 1829 that we were enabled to commence the mission. Mr. W. Shepstone was then appointed to this station, and accompanied to the place by Messrs. W. Shaw and Shrewsbury, from whose Journals, written at the time, we shall make two or three brief extracts:—

"*May* 13*th*, 1829.—Brother Shepstone was introduced as their missionary, sent in consequence of the request of Daapa. They informed us at this palaver that the country was in a disturbed state: the chief of an adjoining tribe, named Gezana, having carried off some of their cattle, a number of their young men had made reprisals; but Gezana's men had come upon them when weary, and killed thirteen men; and they were therefore preparing to attack and punish Gezana's people with their whole united force. We strongly urged them to adopt pacific measures. Several very animated speeches were delivered by some of the old counsellors, which were principally to the effect, that it would be their highest wisdom to lay aside their schemes of war, and to receive the missionary now come to them; to listen to his word, and be at peace. The conclusion of all was, that the station could not be formed at the place we had so much admired the day before, it not being the proper territory of the tribe; but they requested us to move the wagons to a place called Cwanguba, not far distant, where we might select a proper situation. To our inquiries why Daapa was not present, it was answered that his age and infirmities had prevented his coming to see us, but he would meet us at Cwanguba.

"14*th*.—The Cwanguba is a high point of land, on the summit of which is a rather extensive timber bush, by the outskirts of which we made our temporary abode. It is remarkable that only eleven months before, the warriors of Chaka, who had just overrun the whole country between the Umzimvooboo and the Umtata, spent several days at this bush, whence they commanded a view of a large tract of country. What a contrast; and in how short a time! Then the bush was crowded with

blood-thirsty warriors, breathing out threatenings and slaughter. Now a few missionaries and their people occupied the same place, bringing with them the 'gospel of peace.' At that time the bush resounded with savage mirth and songs of war; but this evening a few Christian Kaffers joined in singing in the same place one of the 'songs of Zion,' and afterward retired for the purposes of devotion into the thickets, which now, probably for the first time since the creation, became a place of prayer.

"19*th*.—Mr. Shepstone, having visited Daapa at his own hamlet, found him averse to his continuance at Cwanguba: he then resolved on removing to a place that had been pointed out to him on the opposite side of the river. The wagons were with difficulty got down the steep hills of this part of the Umtata. We forded the river, and made our lodging for the night. Just as we arrived here, Bajela, the principal son of Daapa, came up with a party of attendants, and began a long harangue, in which he strongly urged us not to proceed to the place we had in view. After some discussion, we reproved him, and complained of the vacillating conduct of the chiefs; telling him that it was high time for brother Shepstone to be settled in some place where he could build his house, and that the chiefs ought to lay aside their petty jealousies of each other. He now began to yield the point, and finally expressed himself agreeable to our proposed arrangements.

"20*th*.—This morning, just as we were starting, Daapa came up. He was dressed in a checked shirt, and appeared very infirm. He began to urge the same objections as Bajela had done, to our proceeding; but, after a little talk, and his son's explanation of what had passed the preceding evening, he acquiesced in our proceeding; and it was also agreed that Bajela should accompany us as the formal representative of his father, and also look out for a proper situation, where Daapa and his clan might be settled in the neighbourhood of the station.

"23*d*.—All arrived safely, and without further accident, at the place. Although not more than three hours' ride on horseback from Cwanguba, yet, with the wagons, from the nature of the road and other hinderances, we had been from the 19th journeying hither. On walking round we could not help admiring the Providence which,

by a singular train of circumstances, had led us to so fine a situation for the site of this station. The place is situated on a high ridge of land on the east of the Umtata river, from which it is distant about five miles, and about sixteen miles from the sea. The prospect is most extensive; it is only terminated to the north-east at the distance of about fifty miles, by a fine range of singular conical mountains, which form part of the country of the Amaponedæ; while to the north, the eye looks over a vast extent of fine level country, skirted to the westward by an immense ridge of mountains of every form and shape, forming the boundary of the Tambookie country. The village will stand within a few hundred yards of the edge of a timber forest, which, commencing here, extends for miles along the highland: it is intersected, however, in many places by patches of grass-land, and the whole has the appearance of an extensive and well-designed plantation. An opening through this ridge of forest to the eastward presents to the eye a delightful view of the sea. This place also possesses the more substantial advantages of a very rich soil and abundance of excellent water. Ten or twelve springs rise within a short distance of the spot selected, which together form the source of the Umdumbi river. These springs will enable those who reside here to irrigate extensive tracts of fine land, thus rendering it easy for a considerable population to find the means of subsistence from the cultivation of the ground. I have not seen in any other part of South Africa a place better adapted for the site of a village or town; and as the three chiefs Quanda, Daapa, and Cetani now appear to agree in its being a proper place for the mission village, I have no doubt that the neighbourhood will soon be thickly populated. Cetani came with a number of his people, and requested to know where the cattle-fold was to be placed, as they would immediately commence the work, and complete it as quickly as possible. This proof of his anxiety to see the mission actually commenced was very gratifying to us: indeed all the perplexity attending the commencement of this station has entirely arisen from the wish of each of the principal chiefs to have the mission exclusively connected with his own clan, while we were desirous of its benefiting them all. Through the secret influence of Him who hath the hearts of all men in keeping, we have in the end been enabled to prevail

upon them to unite for their common good, and have thus greatly extended the field of this mission, which is now commenced under the most pleasing prospects."*

These prospects, however, were soon darkened by circumstances of a very distressing nature. Little more than three weeks elapsed before death made an awful breach in the mission family. On the 18th of June, the artisan, Mr. George Robinson, went to cut down timber for the intended buildings, and the very first tree that fell laid him dead upon the spot! His scull was dreadfully fractured, and one of his legs broken in such a manner as to cause the splintered bones to protrude. He never uttered a word after receiving the fatal stroke, nor did he manifest the least symptom of sensibility. The effect of this trying dispensation upon all around may be more easily conceived than described; but the entire absence both of medical and surgical aid on all the different stations beyond the colony, renders the situation of a missionary, at many times, one of which it is difficult even to conceive. They were here two hundred and sixty or seventy miles from the nearest doctor; and some of the stations are nearly twice that distance!

The grave of this pious young man (who had only been married a few weeks) now constitutes one of several objects which give to the spot a truly melancholy interest. Its red-moulded covering is conspicuous on the gently sloping eminence on which its deposite was employed in planning the house of God. Extreme solitariness surrounds the site, and an irresistible pensiveness seemed to seize our minds while standing upon it. No living creature was anywhere to be seen, excepting two poor women gathering the poisonous roots, before described, in one of the neighbouring valleys. Burnt poles were all that remained to show where dwellings had stood, and the havoc that had been made by the torches of savages. The fields, for miles round, had been overspread with fire; so that the grass was completely burnt off, and every thing wore the aspect of mourning. The rippling streamlets from fountains hard by formed the only objects at all cheering; and even these, at times, appeared more like the tears of

* Missionary Notice, No. 169.

nature caused by the desolations of iniquity, than sources of refreshment for guilty man!

When the Zoolah army retired, and the Amanwanæ were dispersed, it was confidently hoped that the country would, for some time at least, enjoy quiet and tranquillity. But now arose a third host of invaders, quite as desperate and formidable as those that had swept the desert before. These were the Amaquabi, followers of Quabi or Quetoo, a bold and adventurous chief, who is said to have been one of the late Chaka's principal captains, but who, upon the fall of that sanguinary tyrant, refused allegiance to his successor, resolving not to serve under the man whose hands had been imbrued in the blood of his master. Coming down to the southward, he and his band at length arrived in the borders of Fakoo's domain, and from thence forwarded a message to that chief, requesting permission to settle within his territories. Whatever might have been his secret plans, no treacherous design appears on the face of circumstances at this stage of Quetoo's career. But, unhappily for him, Fakoo's mind had already been incensed by a message from the Zoolah chief, Dingaan, apprizing him of the approach of the Amaquabi, and advising their utter destruction. Here then began the dreadful combat; a combat in which whites as well as blacks were slain, and which finally terminated in the total destruction of our mission station, and the Amaquabi likewise.

Instead of receiving Quetoo's messengers peaceably, the Umponedo chief fell upon and slew several of them; which, of course, tended to arouse the ire of their leader. This outrage, however, he did not resent, but is said to have declared on receiving the report, "I came not to make war, and shall therefore forbear." Nevertheless, he was not disposed to return, and consequently encamped with his people on the western bank of the Umsikabba. Of this the Amaceisibæ and Amajali, two small clans, occupying the eastern bank of the Umzimvooboo, and subject to Fakoo, no sooner heard than they mustered their forces, and treacherously attacked the strangers by night. Although barbarously routed, it does not appear that even this assault was followed by any hostile or offensive measure on the part of the latter: they quietly returned to their temporary abode, and there encamped again. Shortly afterward, however, they

were attacked a second time; and then was kindled the vengeful flame which soon burst forth with fury.

The two clans above mentioned, together with another named Amatoos, bent upon extirpating their new neighbours, succeeded in enlisting old Lochenberg, who happened to be hunting in their neighbourhood at the time, and also one or two of the servants of an English trader, who, to his everlasting disgrace, had before lent his guns in a similar service, for the sake of a little ivory. As the injudicious conduct of such men naturally tends to exasperate the minds of the natives, and consequently to endanger the lives of other travellers, it is but just that they should be exposed as an example and warning to others. With the following particulars concerning the old fugitive's proceedings and fate, I was furnished by his own son, who acted as one of our interpreters. Having both arms and ammunition (with which he was frequently supplied by his countrymen on the frontiers in exchange for ivory), he had long been regarded as a valuable acquisition to Hinza's army, which he often accompanied against the Amatembu, who were therefore greatly afraid of him. On these expeditions he generally took two or three armed Hottentots along with him; so that the destruction effected by him from time to time must have been terrible indeed. The ostensible object of his present journey was, as usual, the pursuit of game; but the prospect of more abundant spoil easily diverted his aim from animals to men. An immediate reward was promised him by the Amaceisibæ, besides which he was to have a share of the booty.

Two or three nights prior to his going to the scene of action, he dreamed that violent hands had spilt his blood upon the ground. On hearing of this, one of his Hottentot servants strongly remonstrated with him, and entreated that he would desist from his project. To this he again and again consented, and resolved not to go, but as often altered his purpose; and at length determined that nothing should prevent him. The morning on which he and his companions were to have started, their horses could not be found: hence, until near dark, the day was spent in fruitless search. Then, however, it appeared that they had actually been round and round the animals, which were all the time within gun-shot of their hut. The following day they were missing again, and that until a late hour in the afternoon. Enraged

by these circumstances, and impatient as it were to get into the jaws of death, they determined, late as it was to saddle and proceed. This was about the middle of July, 1829.

Seeing the enemy advancing, headed by these mounted warriors, the Amaquabi fled to the summit of a neighbouring hill, taking with them their cattle, their wives, and their little ones. Their fighting men were regularly divided into companies, distinguished from each other by various-coloured shields; white, black, and red. Being, like the ancient Romans, in the habit of charging their opponents at close quarters, their weapons consisted only of knives, and a short description of javelin. All sat together in close array on the top of the eminence, whence they were able to watch every movement of the opposite party. This position they retained, with their families and herds in the rear, until Lochenberg and his comrades had arrived within a few paces of their van; nor did they strike a single blow until three or four volleys had actually been fired among them, their chief seriously wounded, and many of their companions laid lifeless upon the ground. The whole host then arose with a terrific shout; and, at a moment when their thundering antagonists had dismounted for the purpose of taking more steady aim, rushed suddenly down upon them. Two out of the three were instantly cut to pieces; and the other, whom I subsequently saw, only just escaped as by miracle! "Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord."

This awful catastrophe was soon followed by others still more shocking. Suffering under the severe wound he had received, the enraged chief now seems to have concluded that all around him were enemies, and therefore determined on adopting measures the most desperate against both white and black. In the latter end of August, one division of his clan crossed the Zimvooboo, and by night fell upon some of the hamlets belonging to Umyeki. These they utterly destroyed, scarcely allowing a single man, woman, or child to escape. Setting fire to all the houses at once, the greater part perished in the flames; and those of the poor creatures that endeavoured to run off had hardly got clear of the devouring element before the spear found its way to their hearts! This dreadful circumstance occurred within a short day's ride of Amadola; at which place Lieutenant F.,

a naval officer, and two or three other English adventurers, together with a large party of servants, European and Hottentot, were then halting on their way to Port Natal. These were well provided with firearms, ammunition, and merchandise, having extensive projects of a commercial kind in view.

From Amadola, this company proceeded to the residence of Fakoo, on the 26th of August, intending afterward to visit the encampment of Quetoo, whom Mr. F. knew while at Port Natal. Respecting this part of their design, the Umponedo chief warmly remonstrated with them, and represented it as an extremely perilous measure, that might not only endanger the lives of the party, but likewise involve the country in great trouble. Not being disposed, however, duly to consider either Fakoo's arguments or recent events, and having received a message, informing them that the Amaquabi had numbers of elephants' tusks, which they wished to dispose of, they resolved on carrying their plans into effect at all hazards. Hence, after travelling with their wagons until within twenty or thirty miles of the place, Messrs. Farewell, Walker, and Thackwray, attended by interpreters, &c., went forward on horseback. Quetoo received them with apparent kindness, ordered a beeve to be slaughtered for their use, and gave them various other tokens of friendship. Scarcely, however, had night-shade fallen before his mien greatly altered, as did that of his attendants also; for both words and actions then assumed an air of hostility. This was sufficiently manifest to our travellers themselves, but more especially to the interpreters, who repeatedly hinted that the aspect of things was indicative of evil. The chief appears to have signified a wish to prevent their procedure to Natal, being, probably, fearful that they might render Dingaan assistance against him. After informing them of the wound he had received from the gun of a white man, Lochenberg's horses were brought and exhibited in triumph; and in their rage the savage throng cruelly goaded and most barbarously treated the poor animals, as if to annoy their visiters, or induce them to say something upon which a quarrel might be grounded. Messrs. T. and W. now became exceedingly uneasy; but Mr. F. was still unwilling to believe that their host would venture to do them any personal injury.

Their fears being somewhat quieted, and the natives

having retired, they laid down to sleep, and all remained tranquil until near dawn of day the following morning. Their tent was then suddenly surrounded, and all three horridly massacred, together with five of their native servants, who slept in a hut hard by! Three only escaped to tell the woful tale; and one of these was obliged desperately to fight his way through; in doing which he shot three of the barbarians, and received one or two slight wounds himself. The ruffians then set off to plunder the wagons, which they knew to be not far distant. On seeing them advance, the people in charge, both English and Hottentots, immediately fled into the woods, so that there was no further obstacle in their way. The draught-oxen, thirty or forty in number, constituted their first object; and having secured these, they next ransacked the wagons completely. Here they found several thousand pounds of beads, which, to them, were of course more precious than gold; and likewise quantities of clothing, wherewith they dressed themselves as well as they were able. Ten or twelve horses also fell into their hands, together with several guns, belonging to the party. Thus laden, they returned without doing any injury whatever to the wagons, or so much as attempting to pursue the survivors. These, after remaining cloistered in the forests until their way out became quite clear, hastened back again to Morley, whence the intelligence of their misfortunes was first received in the colony.

Flushed with victory, and confident that the clans would all be panic-struck by the desperate steps he had taken, Quetoo seems now to have meditated a general conquest. His astonishing achievements over white men were regarded, both by his own warriors and those around, as proofs of some supernatural power, which nothing could withstand. In order to weaken the strength of the Amaponedæ, and at the same time increase his own force, he first sent forth his troops into those parts where success was most certain. The destruction of Morley seems to have formed one of the grand objects of his plan; and victory over the Umponedo king its climax. To accomplish this point effectually, he ordered his men to fight round that chief (taking the station in their way), until they had completely cut off all his outposts, inferior captains, and allies, and until, by the accession to their numbers of

Fengoos, and captives, &c., they should be able, with some degree of certainty, to attack his strong-holds.

In pursuance of this scheme, arts the most treacherous, and measures the most desperate, were made subservient to their purpose. They carried with them the besom of destruction wherever they went; sweeping away whole hamlets almost every night. In this manner were they making rapid progress towards the mission village, when a poor captive female one night providentially effected her escape, and made known the whole of their designs. Towards evening of October 24th, reports reached the station that they were then not many miles distant: upon which Mr. S. immediately sent out persons on horseback to reconnoitre and obtain certain information. These soon returned with intelligence confirmatory of the fact, stating that the enemy had actually entered Umyeki's *umzi*, and that they were intending to proceed towards Amadola early the following morning. The mission family were now placed in circumstances of extreme perplexity, and obliged without further delay to assume a defensive attitude. Their force was materially strengthened by the presence of one of the traders, who, with his servants, providentially happened to be upon the spot at the time. Part of the mission property being buried, and the rest put into the wagons, Mrs. Shepstone and the children, together with all the other females, took refuge in the wood, while the men armed, and formed themselves into a guard around the mission premises.

In this state of fearful suspense they passed the night, without being further disturbed, except by the suspicious movements of a stranger, who had but just before joined them, and whose mysterious conduct induced all to conclude that he was a spy. When closely questioned, he was unable to give any satisfactory account of himself; and on examination it was found that he had on his head a piece of old canvass, which had evidently formed part of a tent's skirt, and which, in all probability, had been torn from the one belonging to the ill-fated party above mentioned. Nothing, however, could be elicited that would fully establish this point, although circumstances were such as to leave little doubt of the fact. Dreadful indeed was the havoc made among Umyeki's people during the night: no quarter was given, nor mercy shown to man, woman,

or child! On being asked subsequently how many were killed, some of the survivors, with sighs, replied, "Ask us not how many were killed; but how many were saved! Our wives, where are they? and our children, do you see any of them?" At an early hour in the morning, dense columns of smoke were seen rising from their dwellings; near which the dead were left lying in heaps upon heaps! All were then unanimously of opinion that it was high time to abandon the station, and proceed to some more secure part of the country. One or two circumstances now occurred which are deserving of particular notice, inasmuch as they strikingly illustrate the providence of God at this alarming crisis.

The tremendous chasms of the Umtata formed a complete barrier to their escape in a direct course: besides which, the wagon-ford lay considerably higher up. Consequently, before they could cross this deep gulf, they were obliged, for some hours, to continue on an inland course, which brought them still nearer to the enemy; and the latter seems, moreover, to have been actually on the advance at the very moment they started: so that for a while both companies appeared as if approximating to one and the same point. At this critical juncture, a dense fog overspread the face of the country, and entirely concealed the wagons, until they had begun to descend into the channel of the river; where the ravines and bushes then served as their covert. Almost immediately afterward, the day cleared up, and became perfectly fine! Had not Divine Providence thus interposed, it is more than probable that their movements would have been discovered by the savages from the heights on which they were marching. They advanced in two divisions, and on the summits of two parallel ridges, which were separated only by a small rivulet, running directly down upon Morley. Hence, they were quite within hail of each other, and "Amadola! Amadola!" formed the termination of their war-whoop. "Hurry on to Amadola! hurry on to Amadola!" was the terrific cry, responded by each to the other; and among one of the companies this grew louder and louder on perceiving that their comrades on the opposite ridge were turning out of their course, to sack the hamlets below. Their vociferous shouts, however were of no avail; for the herds in the valley proved irre-

sistible baits, and many minutes had not elapsed before the whole host was effectually diverted from its object.

Here then their progress was arrested, until the mission family had got to a distance which placed them in comparative safety; but the wretched hordes upon whom they fell were almost wholly destroyed. They remained revelling among the spoil until the following day, when Bodi, another subordinate chieftain, gave them battle, repulsed, and killed some of their men. Whether they afterward went on to the mission village or not is exceedingly difficult to determine; the buildings were indeed burnt; but by whom is not fully known. Suspicion rests upon one who before professed great friendship; and who, if guilty, did the deed, in all probability, not so much from really malicious motives, as with a view to secure the iron-work about the doors and windows, &c.

On every hand the most affecting objects of distress now presented themselves. The interpreter remained at a short distance from the station for some days after the mission family left; during which period, a poor Umponedo and his wife came up, saying they had hoped to have found refuge under "the white man's wing." Sorely indeed were they suffering from the cravings of hunger; and having been obliged to flee for their lives, they had lost the whole of their children, save one, which was then hanging at the breast. Some of the natives had offered to take them in, provided they would rid themselves of the infant by casting it over a precipice. To this, however, they had not consented, but resolved on carrying it as far as they could. After pointing out the direction in which the wagons went, our pious interpreter advised them to follow with all possible speed; which they did, and, in the course of a day or two more, reached the mission encampment on the banks of the Bashee. There the poor creatures remained until the return of Mr. S. to re-commence the mission, and they are now comfortably settled on the Morley station. Mr. D. one of the traders, while resting for a few hours at Butterworth, informed me, that on his way back from the Zimvooboo, he had nearly ridden over a female who was laid prostrate in the path. Perceiving that she did not move out of the way, he was induced to alight; when, shocking to relate, he found her quite dead! A fine child, still alive, was also

lying alongside of the corpse, vainly endeavouring to draw nourishment from its lifeless mother.

But to finish the history of the Amaquabæ. Their career now drew to an end, and vengeance unmixed with mercy awaited them. Perceiving that they were bent upon carrying destruction through the land, and having been apprized of their design respecting himself, Fakoo at length mustered his tribe, and determined on giving them battle. His first measure was to prevent all possibility of egress from the place of their encampment, which was in a detached part of the forest, and which, with his warriors, divided into ten or twelve companies, he completely encircled. Thither supplies of milk and other provisions were ordered to be taken, so that they were enabled to keep up the siege for several days, during which period all remained perfectly quiescent. But when his plans were fully matured, and his men thoroughly acquainted with the part each division had to act, he ordered the young and most active of the warriors to advance towards the enemy, as if for the purpose of attacking them, and then again precipitately to retire; which stratagem was to be repeated until the latter were aroused, and induced to sally forth from their umbrageous covert. The scheme had its desired effect; for, apparently unconscious of the strength of their opponents, and of the danger of their position, the Quabæ at length came out on to a narrow neck of land, headed by the wood, flanked with deep ravines, and terminating in tremendous precipices on the right bank of the Umzimvooboo. Perceiving that his men were somewhat afraid to engage so sanguinary a foe, Fakoo is said to have taken his brother and two sons, and with these at his side hurried onwards to the battle, crying, "We, then, will die first; and our bones shall lie here alone!" But these spirit-rousing words had scarcely dropped from his lips ere the warriors all rushed to the combat with impetuous fury. Retreat to the forest was instantly rendered impracticable, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Comparatively few could effect their escape; and numbers, in fleeing from the spear, leaped from the rocks and perished in the river.

A party of the Amaceisibæ then proceeded with all speed to the encampment of Quetoo, who still lay sick of the wound he had received in his rencounter with Lo-

chenberg, and who was, therefore, not very well able to defend himself. His stores of spoil, however, rather than his person, constituted their object; and these were, of course, very considerable; for besides the cattle which his predatory bands had, from time to time taken, he had still in his possession much of the property belonging to Lieutenant F. and his company. Hearing of the total discomfiture of his troops, and of the approach of pursuers, he sent off his female carriers laden with this booty, and committed his herds to the few servants he had around him; which done, he hasted away on horseback, accompanied by Umdingi, who had just before joined him. But while thus fleeing from the foe behind, they were unexpectedly met by Capye, another Arab-like freebooter,—whose father (Madikan) an Irish trader had shot some time before, at the suggestion of Umdingi,—who easily made himself master of almost every thing they possessed. Had not the swiftness of their horses speedily placed them beyond his reach, he would, in all probability, have slain them also. Thus closed the dreadful career of the Amaquabæ, whose circumstances, from first to last, cannot be contemplated without mingled feelings of pity and abhorrence.

CHAPTER XVI.

Remains of the Grosvenor—Port Natal—Slave-trade—Farewell's project—Civilizing theories tested—Influence of heathenish habits—Licentiousness of adventurers—A murderous act—Death of Captain King—Chaka's forces—His assassination—Barbarity—Fertility of the Zoola country—Diseases of Caffraria—Cowie and Green's adventure—Arrival at Portuguese settlement—Their death—Delagoa Bay—Its advantages—Kingdom of Tembii—Rio de Senna—Infamous conduct of Jesuits—Commerce of the interior—Navigable rivers.

Thirty or forty miles eastward of the Umzimvooboo lie the remains of the unfortunate Grosvenor, consisting of guns and ballast, perceptible at low water, and constituting a lively memento to the traveller of the affecting scenes there witnessed in 1782; of the watery grave into which many of our countrymen were there plunged: of the heart-rending situation in which numbers of deli-

cate women and children were there placed; and of all the horrid circumstances consequent upon the wreck of that noble vessel; the scattering of the parties; their conflicts with savages; their perils in the desert; their sufferings from hunger, and likewise from thirst; together with the shocking fate of almost all the passengers and most of the crew, who were here and there left to perish, to languish and to die, or to be torn to pieces by beasts of prey. But the subject is too painful to dwell upon.

From hence to Natal, which is the next principal point of interest, there is a fine but depopulated tract of country, from two to three hundred miles in extent. Messrs. Cowie and Green, two gentlemen who traversed it in the early part of 1829, inform us that it is in many places beautiful beyond description, the meadows being carpeted with luxuriant herbage, and watered every few hundred yards by copious rivulets, whose banks are level with the *prairies* through which they meander; rivers abounding with fish, hippopotami, and alligators; plains and hills here and there covered with woods of gigantic forest trees, attaining the height of seventy or eighty feet; and enlivened by herds of elephants. Vegetation also was rich beyond any thing they had ever seen in the most favoured parts of the colony. The coast was abundantly supplied with oysters of two descriptions; and one part is mentioned, twenty or thirty miles in extent, which was literally white with this delicious esculent. "The late Zoola conqueror completely desolated the whole of this district, leaving scarcely a single hamlet standing: individuals, however, have again established themselves upon it; and, what is somewhat remarkable, on the Umzimkoolu there is a considerable horde of Bushmen, who, although quite a distinct body, appear to be living on amicable terms with all around."

Port Natal, which lies between 29° and 30° south latitude, is said to have been purchased of the natives by the Dutch East India Company in the early part of 1690.* It long afterward constituted a harbour for slave-ships, as did Delagoa Bay also, where a factory was established by the company about 1721. From official memoirs, published in Amsterdam, in 1718, it is suffi-

* See Maxwell's Account of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1706: an original manuscript copy of which, together with other papers on the Cape, is still preserved in the British Museum.

ciently evident that Natal, which at that period was understood to commence at the Great Fish River, was then regarded as a point of very considerable importance, and as "one of the most fertile regions upon earth."* "We there traded," says Robert Drury, April, 1719, "for slaves, with large brass rings, or rather collars, and several other commodities. In a fortnight we purchased seventy-four boys and girls. These are better slaves for working than those of Madagascar, being not only blacker, but stronger. Captain White put six natives of Delagoa on shore here, whom he took with him the former voyage. They had two or three kings' dominions to pass through before they came to their own country, and were under some apprehension of being intercepted. The captain therefore furnished them with ammunition, hatchets, and brass collars."†

This inhuman traffic was doubtless carried on to a considerable extent all along the coast, as it even now is by the Portuguese, higher up. Dr. A., a naval surgeon attached to one of his majesty's ships of war, informed me, that, having occasion to put in at Inhamban, when on a cruise in 1829, they learned that no less than eight hundred blacks had but just before been there, shipped for South America; and that three hundred more were then ready for exportation! The slave-merchant unblushingly made his boast of the excellent prices he had obtained for the greater part of them, in consideration of their being principally young healthy females, from whom "a great increase of stock was expected by the purchaser!" The same gentleman assured me that, notwithstanding the strictest prohibitions of the home government, numbers of natives from this coast and Mozambique have within the last few years been clandestinely landed on various parts of the Isle of France. A French lady likewise, of considerable respectability, who arrived at the Cape from that island in February, 1830, furnished us with two or three facts confirmatory of these statements, and illustrative of the manner in which the law is frequently and effectually evaded. The illicit importation of considerable companies of slaves appears to have been again and

* Purry's "Memoire sur le Pays de Cafres et la Terra de Nuyts;" a copy of which publication also may be seen in the British Museum.
† Drury's Narrative, p. 441.

again witnessed by men in power, whose duty it was to have put down this iniquitous system, and who forsooth loudly boasted to the world of having done so: while at other times the offenders, although publicly convicted, have been merely punished with a kind of mock imprisonment, and allowed to "escape, no one knew how!" On one occasion, the lady above alluded to and her brother were induced to attend a sale that had been called in the country, where landed and other property were expected to be sold: but on their arrival, they found nothing exhibited but a number of poor black strangers, who had just been smuggled into the island, and who were now put up to auction "in a wood!"

In 1823, Natal was visited by Lieutenant F., of the royal navy, and two or three other gentlemen, who soon afterward resolved on attempting a settlement there. One of the party describes the port as being perfectly "easy of access to vessels drawing not more than eight feet water; it has upon its bar eleven feet at high water, spring-tides; and at times exceeds that depth. The harbour is well sheltered from all winds, and is sufficiently large to contain, at least, thirty sail. The Cape forms a spacious bay, where ships may ride in safety with S. W. and westerly winds in from nine to eleven fathoms, sandy bottom. The best anchorage is, when the Cape bears S. by W. half-west; or S.S.W. at the distance of a mile and a half."* Finding the country adjacent remarkably fine, the disposition of the aborigines favourable, and the prospect for an extensive trade in ivory, &c. good, they immediately returned to the Cape, where a strong and lively interest was excited by their project. As it was deemed calculated greatly to benefit the colony, and to secure the "civilization of the natives,"† the colonial government was urgently called upon to afford all needful aid.

After making the necessary arrangements, Lieutenant F. again proceeded thither early in 1824, accompanied by six or seven-and-twenty other persons, taking with him building materials, agricultural implements, and merchandise of different descriptions. Chaka, the Zoola king, and monarch of the coast from Umzimvoobu to the southern and western parts of Delagoa, received them

* Captain King's account.
† Farewell's letter to the governor, September, 1824.

with every token of friendship, made them munificent presents of cattle, and allotted to their leader, for a very trifling consideration in manufactures, a tract of country (with the bay in its bosom), extending about thirty miles along the coast, and nearly a hundred in a N.W. direction, placing, at the same time, between four and five hundred of the people at his command, to "cultivate the land." "I took possession of the country," says Mr. F. in a letter to the governor, "made over according to the tenor of the document forwarded to your lordship on the 27th August, 1824, hoisted the English colours, and fired a salute in presence of a number of Chaka's chiefs."

Here then we have a party of settlers, such we may suppose as Captain Stout, of the Hercules, and others of his way of thinking, would, in all probability, recommend as the civilizers of Africa! men of science; men of enterprise; men of general information, accompanied by labouring men; men who professedly went to trade and to cultivate, to introduce the plough, and European manufactures, &c.; and among whom there were no "order of missionaries or clergy," nor even a single individual that seemed to have the most distant idea of introducing "any system of religion whatever." We may now, therefore, fairly ask, how far this religionless scheme tended to civilize, or to make the wretched barbarians "useful members of a regular community." Did their precepts or conduct tend to rescue their swarthy neighbour from the degraded state in which they found him, to raise him above habits that are disgraceful to human nature, to show him that heathenish customs are decidedly injurious, and that his manners, in many respects, reduce him, literally, to a level with the brute? Were their enterprising plans such as actually elevated either his mind or his character, making him ashamed of a state of nudity; exciting willingness to adopt industrious habits, in the place of predatory ones; convincing him that "honesty is the best policy," that truth is excellent, and falsehood abominable; and that peace is essentially necessary to the happiness and well-being of society? Alas! instead of doing this, our adventurers had not been many weeks in the land before dissension and strife arose among them; and, so far from constituting exemplars of "peace and good-will," they soon constrained even the savage to remark, "See how

these white men disagree!" Pride began to work; disputes were the result; divisions presently followed; and the whole company, instead of strengthening each other's hands, in the course of a very short time became completely scattered. The greater part of them immediately left the country; and several were never more heard of, being lost, as was supposed, at sea, on their passage back to the colony.

It is easy for our civilizing theorizers in the comfortable enjoyment of all the benefits of civilization, gravely to philosophize, and tell us what they would do, and what might be done by instructing the rude children of nature in this art and in that. Speculation, however, is one thing, and practice another. In our own enlightened land the tide of corrupt passion is stemmed, and great moral achievements facilitated by established laws, by ancient institutions, and by universal usages; by the force of Christian education, national example, a gospel ministry, and the power of faithful prayer. But not so in the regions of paganism. There public example is heathenish, and heathenish only: lust and vice are almost wholly uncontrolled; virtue has no support; the very atmosphere itself seems as if dense with moral evil, and the powers of darkness hold undisturbed dominion. In such a situation, therefore, without the counsel of Christian friends, the warnings of a Christian minister, or the salutary influence of Christian ordinances, men soon become deaf to the checks of better principles. Fancied insult arouses revengeful feelings; unrestrained passions speedily generate incredible licentiousness; while avarice and self-interest prompt to acts the most iniquitous.

Before such a force, bare morality, upright intentions, and the gentleman's high-toned "principles of honour," rank, and what not, are borne down like so many straws in the stream; and, instead of civilizing others, he gradually slides from one degree of corruption to another, until he at length becomes himself a savage, a perfect sensualist, a polygamist, and that of the most depraved cast! "There is a significant phrase," says the pious Newton, a clergyman of the Church of England, who spent several years in Africa, "frequently used on the coast of Guinea, that such a man is 'grown black.' It does not mean an alteration of complexion, but of disposition. I have known several who, settled

in Africa after the age of thirty or forty, have at that time of life been gradually assimilated to the tempers, customs, and ceremonies of the natives so far as to prefer that country to England. They have even become dupes to all the pretended charms, necromancies, amulets, and divinations of the blinded negroes." And, incredible as it may appear, there are now in Caffraria also Englishmen whose daily garb differs little from the beast-hide covering of their neighbours; whose proper colour can scarcely be identified for the filth that covers them; and whose domestic circles, like those of the native chieftains themselves, embrace from eight to ten black wives or concubines!

It is almost superfluous to add, that the life of a black has, in the estimation of such degraded wretches, become quite common; and that the hope of gain, or a desire to secure the favour of chieftains, has not unfrequently proved a sufficient incentive to deeds the most base and sanguinary. Twenty or thirty of the natives having one day fled from the presence of Chaka, and taken refuge in the rocks, where his spear was not able to reach them, the enraged savage, bent upon making them the victims of his vengeance, called in the aid of these firearmed men; who, horrid to relate, by means of their guns, speedily brought down the poor creatures, like birds from a tree! The reader will not be surprised to learn that some of this band soon afterward fell by the hand of violence; and that others of the party also were soon afterward called to the bar of the Almighty. Well would it be if their awful fate should prove a warning to all who may have occasion to go among the more distant tribes, either for commercial or scientific purposes. Let the decree of Heaven be ever kept in mind: "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man also shall his blood be shed;" and let it be remembered, too, that this decree proceedeth from Him whose "eyes are upon the ways of man," in the very darkest corners of the earth; for "there is no darkness nor shadow of death where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves."

Much benevolent attention was paid to the Natal settlement at its commencement, by a gentleman of the name of King, formerly a midshipman in the Guerriere. His vessel, the Salisbury, in which the party visited Natal in 1823, is said to have been the first that ever entered that port during the lifetime of the oldest inhab-

itant; and was shortly afterward lost. But, having obtained another, and hearing that Lieutenant F. and his companions were greatly in want, he again visited them a year or two subsequently, for the purpose of taking supplies, and was cast ashore at the entrance of the harbour. This led him to resolve on remaining there; and, assisted by his crew, he succeeded in building a completely new vessel out of the wreck. His days, however, after that occurrence, were but few, and full of adversity. Disappointment seems to have awaited him at every step, and he at length sank under the ravages of grief and dysentery; a disease which frequently prevails on that part of the coast. This took place in 1828, and under circumstances of the most melancholy character. When languishing in a native hut, almost alone, he repeatedly sent for Mr. F., who resided at no great distance, requesting his friendly aid and company; but, to the everlasting disgrace both of the name and memory of the latter, although this unfortunate young man had risked both life and property in his behalf, he never so much as went near to perform for him, in his dying moments, any the most common office of humanity! Facts of this kind are surely sufficient to show, that, whatever else such men may do, their spirit and example are not very likely to inspire the barbarian with much better feelings. Of all that went to settle at Natal two or three only remain; and it is but too evident that these, instead of promoting the work of civilization, have, in a great measure, abandoned themselves to the habits and manners of savage life.

Within a few days of Captain King's death, the career of the Zoola chief also was brought to an end; and as history scarcely furnishes us with a more complete despot, we may here briefly notice his character. It is hard to say whether the conquests, the cruelties, or the pride of this African ruler most promoted his celebrity; but his very name, as well as the names of other branches of his family, affords striking evidence of no ordinary degree of ambition. His grandfather was called Zoolu, which signifies "heaven," or figuratively "high:" from him the nation is now called Amazoolu, that is, people of heaven, or high people: they are often termed Zoolas in English, which, however, is a corruption of the proper name. The son of Zoolu was Menzi, which signifies "maker or worker:" Chaka was the son

of Menzi; and his name, in the Sichuana language at least, means "battle-axe." The name also of his brother and successor is Dingam, which is nearly equivalent to "I of myself," or "I am." Chaka, having, by some kind of treachery, contrived to get his elder brother, the legitimate heir, put to death, became ruler of the tribe himself, at his father's demise. He was originally established near Delagoa Bay, and driven from thence by some great convulsion among the tribes in that quarter, fifteen or sixteen years ago. The impetus he then received appears to have gradually forced him westward as far as Natal; where he at length seated himself with a very powerful body of adherents. His entire force was estimated at one hundred thousand; and he is said to have kept about fifteen thousand warriors in constant readiness, to execute the most hazardous and sanguinary orders. In the event of their failing to accomplish his ambitious projects, the unsuccessful troops were usually punished with immediate death.

A week or two prior to his assassination, he sent forth a considerable army against one of the tribes, lying north-east of the Zoola territories: but, being apprized of their approach, the latter fortunately succeeded in securing their property, and likewise in preparing themselves for the attack. A dreadful slaughter consequently ensued among his troops; which, although likened to a flight of locusts in point of number, were, nevertheless, totally defeated. The moment intelligence of this reached his ears, he determined on forthwith sacrificing a number of defenceless women, wives of some of the vanquished warriors! This horrid act seems to have been perpetrated, in part, when the revengeful feelings of his long-oppressed people burst forth with overwhelming fury, and suddenly put an end to their bloody king. His own brethren were concerned in the plot, and became indeed the most active executioners.

Whenever Chaka contemplated any murderous scheme, he generally pretended to have been apprized of some secret conspiracy either against himself or against his government, to which the intended victims were, as a matter of course, represented as being accessary. A few hours before his death, he intimated to his confidential domestic, Boper, that information had been communicated to him in a dream respecting the design of his father, shortly to attach himself to the interests and

service of a neighbouring king; and that he had therefore resolved on putting him to death. This circumstance is naturally supposed to have hastened his own destruction; for the very same evening (Sept. 23d, 1828), as the sun was sinking behind the western hills, the tragical scene commenced. His successor, Dingam, first laid hands upon him, saying, "Chaka shall never see *ilanga liatshona* (the sunset) again!" and at the same moment thrust a spear into his back: this deadly stab was immediately followed by others from Umslangaan, another brother, and Boper, who thus effectually frustrated his savage master's designs. The body, contrary to general custom, was left weltering in its blood until the following morning: when, on finding that it had not been devoured, they gave it sepulture, saying, "The wolves will not eat the corpse of a king!" Sotobie, one of his principal captains, who had likewise constituted one of his ambassadors to our government at the Cape a few months previously, was also murdered a day or two subsequently.

The awful degree of barbarity of which this wicked chieftain was capable will appear fully evident from the following appalling and well-attested facts. Being one day annoyed by the playful gambols of a child, which happened to peep into his hut, he instantly vowed vengeance upon it, and declared he would kill it. On perceiving his anger kindle, the little innocent fled with all speed, and took refuge amid the crowd of its companions. Thither the monster pursued; but not being able immediately to identify the object of his rage, he issued orders for the whole company (amounting to seventy or eighty children) to be massacred! On another occasion, hearing that one of his captains, commanding between four and five hundred men, had been routed by the enemy, and had lost some of the spears, he immediately ordered both him and his soldiers to appear at his residence, where every man was without ceremony put to death, and the wives were added to his seraglio! This is said to have contained an extraordinary number of females: but, in order that it might not be known, or even thought, that he held converse with any save his own acknowledged concubines, the moment any of the other poor creatures were pronounced with child, their death-warrants were generally sealed!

Since the decease of this inhuman being, Natal has been repeatedly visited by other traders, who have made the journey overland without much difficulty, and who have met with considerable encouragement from his successor, the present chief. Its occupation as a mission station is highly desirable; but until a regular communication can be ensured by sea, this would necessarily be exceedingly expensive; partly on account of its remoteness from the colony, and partly from the additional number of persons that ought to be employed in a mission so far from any other station. It must be obvious to every one at all acquainted with the local circumstances of the country, that such a mission would require to be established on a somewhat larger scale than those nearer the frontiers, to ensure any thing like a prospect of permanency and stability, or to meet, even in a small degree, the pressing emergency of the case. Dingam has more than once expressed a wish to have missionaries among his people; but how far his motion is to be depended upon is perhaps difficult to say, seeing that his views of the missionary character must necessarily be less or more governed by his knowledge of our countrymen; whose conduct, as we have already seen, has been calculated to do any thing but prepare the missionary's way. In other respects, the Zoolu country seems to present no obstacle to the introduction of Christianity, besides what is common to every other part of Caffraria. The general habits and manners of the Amazoolu are much the same as those of their neighbours, with the exception of their being uncircumcised. This rite does not appear to obtain among either them or the Fengoes: herein therefore they differ both from the Kaffer and the Boochuana.

The residence of their king is at Nobambe (near which are several pieces of ordnance, said to have been left by the Dutch upwards of forty years ago, when a settlement was attempted), on the Zimtlanga, a river about one hundred and twenty miles north-east of the port; and was visited by the late Dr. Cowie (district surgeon of Albany), and his friend Mr. Benjamin Green, in the month of March, 1829.* Its whole neighbour-

* Mr. Alexander Cowie was a native of Scotland, and a gentleman of great professional skill; he was highly esteemed by all who knew him, and having been remarkably successful in the performance of various surgical operations, he had become exceedingly popular

hood is described as being very populous and fertile; the huts are built after the manner of the Kaffers, but are much cleaner, and more commodious. Cultivation is carried on to a considerable extent; and two kinds of *impfie*, or sugar-cane, are mentioned by the travellers; one as thick as the little finger, and the other as that of the wrist. The latter is stated to be the *saccharum officiarum*, or true cane, and was found in every part of the country as far as Delagoa. Shortly after their arrival at this place, a party of about forty half-caste Portuguese visited the Zoolu chief, in consequence, as they stated, of their being greatly in want of food. One of them was copper-coloured, and had straight hair; all were dressed in long chintz gowns, tied at the waist: their nation was represented as residing near the Portuguese fort, and as having been completely despoiled by Chaka's armies. Being informed by them that it was only about five days' journey to Delagoa, Messrs. Cowie and Green at once resolved on an attempt to penetrate to that place; and leaving the wagon, with most of their suite, at Nobambe, they commenced the arduous and fatal enterprise on the 6th of March.

From their journal it appears that the Zimtlanga is a principal and the westernmost branch of the St. Lucia river; besides which, it has three others—the Volosie Umhlope, the Volosie Innansie, and the Volosie, which is the easternmost source: these, all uniting about thirty-five miles form the sea, from the Umvolosie, which in the maps has been designated St. Lucia. The Volosie Innansie, where forded by our travellers on the 7th, was one hundred yards wide; much infested by alligators; the banks marshy, and thickly lined with large fig-trees full of good fruit. The trunks of some of these trees measured six feet in diameter; and like the *ficus Indica*, they are said to possess the quality of throwing down their branches, and fixing them by roots in the earth. Buffaloes and elephants especially were here numerous. Proceeding through a hilly country, they passed a long defile in the *Ingamanga*, or Black Tiger mountains, and crossed the Morrie and Sordwany

throughout the whole of the eastern province. His companion, Green, was from the county of Wexford, in Ireland, and a young man of extraordinary enterprise: he seems to have been actuated by an unconquerable love of adventure; which, like many others, he ascribed to the reading of De Foe's celebrated Crusoe.

rivers on the 9th. Increased quantities of game were now met with, and also a new species of tiger, most ferocious in its habits, and totally different from the colonial kind. On the banks of the Umkoosie, which is about three hundred feet broad, and very rapid, they killed a large boa-constrictor; and on the 10th of March skirted a high range of mountains, called the Bombo, running nearly north and south. The following day, keeping close to the base of these elevations, and on the western side, they traversed a swampy country, covered with mimosas, and waded the Pongola, which passes through the range towards the ocean.

On the 12th they ascended the Bombo mountains; and on their summits, diversified with wood, hill, and dale, fell in with many natives and much cultivated land. Here an attempt was made to dissuade them from proceeding, by the chiefs, who had already sent for their wizard from a distance, in consideration of the annual visit of the Delagoa fever, which was then daily expected; and which, according to their representations, generally extended to the chain just mentioned. But having got thus far, they were unwilling to relinquish the great object of their toil, and therefore determined on pushing forward at all hazards. On the 14th they descended, though not without considerable difficulty, this last hilly barrier between them and the Portuguese settlement; forded the Ungovoome, reached the hamlet of Undolomba, a petty chief, belonging to the Unnumie tribe, and subject to Sadooka. At this village and at most of those they subsequently passed, they were received with distrust and hesitation; but when, by means of their guns, they provided the inhabitants with food (grass-seeds being in many places their chief subsistence), the poor creatures called them gods, stating that they had hitherto been visited only for the purposes of rapine and murder! For some days previously the expedition suffered greatly from rain; and a sensible alteration in the climate was now observable: the days being excessively hot, and the nights cold, raw, and damp. From this period our adventurers frequently complain of exhaustion and melancholy; and the tone of their diary evinces an ardent desire to reach the long-looked-for destination.

As already remarked, the more southerly divisions of the country are in general pretty healthy, owing to the

peculiar dryness of the atmosphere and soil. Hence epidemics, at all serious, very rarely occur. There is, indeed, a species of intermittent fever which occasionally prevails, and which is less or more fatal in the autumn and winter months. Phlebotomy is then frequently resorted to; being in general their only remedy. The cupping process is quite common: in the performance of this, after making two or three incisions, as near the seat of pain as possible, with a rude and often rusty instrument, a horn is applied, and exhausted by suction at the smaller extremity. A severe description of ophthalmia also is often distressingly prevalent in summer, particularly in the lowlands, among all classes Many of the native children and some adults are greatly afflicted with worms likewise, owing, in all probability, to the want of a more generous diet. Pulmonary complaints are by no means uncommon; but they generally originate in a want of caution, exposure, or sleeping in damp situations. Besides all these, however, the tribes higher up the coast are manifestly subject to others of a far more destructive character. The ground being marshy, rain more abundant, and the rivers much more extensive towards the tropics, miasmata and noxious vapours are, of course, frequently productive of fevers that are little less than pestilential.

Of this our travellers were soon furnished with convincing and lamentable proof. After recrossing the Ungovoomo they encamped near a lake called *Imvoobu* (hippopotamus) pond, not far from the confluence of the Ungovoomo and Pongola rivers; and the ensuing day travelling along the banks of the latter stream, they arrived at another large lake, which they denominated Erin, and at which they slept. They then crossed the Mapoota, near its junction with the Pongola, and again bivouacked on the shores of a third lake, of which they write in extreme raptures. It is represented as being about four miles long; and between three and four hundred feet wide: its waters are fresh, and translucent as glass, the haunt of alligators, hippopotami, and a great diversity of fish. Around it were shrubs of various descriptions, and a lawn of the most verdant grass; upon which were sportively feeding numbers of spring bucks (*antelope saliens vel dorsata*), and other animals of the same beautiful genus. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all its loveliness, danger and death were concealed in

every corner of this paradisiac spot: the insidious crocodile, the terrific boa, the treacherous tiger, and a pestilential atmosphere conspired to mar and destroy these charms of earthly beauty.

The Mapoota river is called by the natives La Zoota; and is augmented by the Ungovoomo and Pongola streams; the first and last of which have their sources on the western side of the Bombo mountains. Its banks are exceedingly reedy and marshy; and the whole country is almost a dead level. Between the spot where they forded it and English River, a distance of about eighty miles, the scene seems to have been in a great measure devoid of interest. Their progress was greatly impeded by salt lakes of stagnant water, boggy ground, and forests of stunted shrubs: the soil also is described as being remarkably light, and sandy as that of the seashore. After keeping the vicinity of Mapoota for four days, and then making a little deviation towards a hamlet under the chief Migata on the coast, they had the welcome sight of a vessel anchored in Delagoa Bay. To this they despatched a native, with a note, desiring the commander to furnish them with a few comforts of which they were entirely destitute: but the poor fellow, contrary to their orders, took it to the Portuguese governor, who sent them an invitation to the fort, together with a present of coffee, sugar, and biscuits, &c. Their envoy not returning according to their anxious expectation on the morning of the 23d, they proceeded alongshore to within sight of the long-wished-for haven; here they slept, and the next morning he made his appearance with missive and excuse, that nothing could induce him to go on board a Portuguese vessel, as he knew he should there be trepanned into slavery!

March 24th, the governor's boat transported them across the *La Koola*, or English River; but they had first to wade through about a mile of reedy marsh on its banks. The natives strongly urged them not to cross at all, signifying that the Portuguese would, in all probability, poison them: they were, however, received at the fort with apparent kindness, and remained there for six or seven days. During this period, the governor, Texeira, accommodated them at his own residence, but made them pay dearly for every thing they had, and finally sent them away without any supply whatever

for their journey homewards. Three weeks previous to their arrival, there were forty Europeans at the settlement; but so great had been the ravages of disease among them that their number was now reduced to six, and these also were rapidly hastening to the grave. Two ships in the harbour had buried or thrown overboard no less than one hundred and fifty bodies in the course of a very few days. It is not improbable, therefore, that our travellers took away with them the seeds of contagion; for their journey soon afterward came to a melancholy close. This, however, was doubtless accelerated by the loss of their horses, which sickened and died while they were at the fort, and consequently obliged them to proceed on foot.

On the 4th of April, Dr. C. was taken ill, complained of his head, bled himself, and afterward made his will; to venesection he had again recourse in the afternoon, and felt himself so much relieved as to determine on travelling the following morning. But, alas! the night ended his adventures; and the following day saw his remains in the silent dust! Very few hours elapsed before Plaatje, one of their Hottentot servants, also fell; and the interpreter entreated Mr. G. to leave him and hurry onwards, as there appeared to be no possibility of saving him: to this, however, the kind-hearted Irishman would not consent, until the poor man had breathed his last. Green felt the loss of his companion most acutely, and appears to have been almost stultified with grief: hence he would sometimes, after firing at any thing, keep the gun at his shoulder for a considerable length of time, gazing as if completely lost in thought, and unconscious of what he was about. The virulence of disease, therefore, in his case, was evidently increased by great nervous excitement; under which, although remarkably strong and athletic, he likewise at length sank. Medicines were offered him by the natives; but convinced, probably, that they could be of little service, he altogether declined taking them; and after giving up his papers to the interpreter, with a request that they might be forwarded to the colony as soon as possible, he expired in one of the huts on the 8th or 9th of April, 1829.*

The narrative of these intrepid but unfortunate young

* South African Directory for 1830, p. 262–266.

men has brought us up to a point of great political and commercial importance, and one that is peculiarly interesting to the Christian missionary. Delagoa Bay, extending from 25° 20′ S. to Mapoota in 26°—and from the Cape Inyack, in lat. 25° 58′ S. and long. 32° 55′ E., to the entrance of English River, in the same latitude, and in 32° 32′ E. long., is the receptacle of three large rivers. The first of these is the Mapoota, which empties itself at the S.W. corner,—while the English, and Maneiss, or King George's,* disembogue their noble streams into the eastern side of the bay. The latter has a shifting bar; "but we carried through its channel," says a naval officer in his majesty's service, "twenty-two feet at high water." Within, it is not so considerable as either the Mapoota or English River, except that it flows from an immense distance, and delivers to the ocean such bodies of water as frequently burst its banks to find other outlets into the great bay. It has a northerly direction exactly parallel to the coast, or inclining but little inwards for many miles; and has its source in the mountains N.W. of Inhamban. This river has the advantage of opening a free communication with an immense country of great fertility, even to the Portuguese post Manica; which is by them said to be not far from its source; but the situation cannot be ascertained, further than that it is in the captaincy of Rio de Senna. The banks of the Mapoota, and of the streams which fall into English River, are for the most part muddy and covered with mangrove; and behind there is a rich champaign country, studded with clumps of trees, like park-land, of moderate elevation. The King George's, however, has quite a different character; which, like that of the Mississippi and other great rivers, marks most decidedly the distance of its sources.

The Portuguese fort, situate on the left bank of English River, consists of three or four houses, a few old rusty cannon, and a number of native huts; which, altogether, give it a wretched appearance. In 1823–4, the whole of its force did not amount to more than forty or fifty black soldiers, natives of Mozambique, besides three officers, and the governor, who exercised over

* This name was given to it by the officers of his majesty's ship Leven, in consideration of the natives in its neighbourhood (some of whom had picked up a little English from the whalers) calling themselves "King George's men."

the neighbouring aborigines a most vicious and enslaving tyranny. The whole of the adjoining countries are evidently very populous; and their products as various as can well be imagined, the soil being exceedingly rich, and capable of any sort of culture. The sugar-cane, pines, and pumpkins, with various other tropical plants, and some of a peculiar description, are here indigenous. Rice, maize, millet, and other useful *farinæ* are plentiful, but frequently laid waste by elephants, elks, and hippopotami. The latter abound in almost all the rivers, as do alligators also; valuable stones, and probably gold; and in the bay, besides the whale, seal, and turtle, there is abundance of different kinds of fish.

"The neighbouring coast is clear and safe; it is attainable, and always easy of access from north or south at all seasons of the year: the bay has safe anchorage either outside the bar or within, or even upon it. There are no currents to sweep ships past: there is a convenient rise of tide, and the neighbouring country will always supply it to any extent of demand. In a nautical point of view, therefore, it is far superior to Mozambique, which fails in all these particulars. From Delagoa the voyage to any part of India or Europe is simple at all seasons of the year; but from Mozambique these voyages must always depend on the monsoon. To Great Britain this port offers an important point: it opens all the interior of Africa to her commerce, where millions of people are ready to receive clothing and civilization at her hands! By its products the more southern provinces would always be secured against famine or even scarcity with proper management; and as the black whale is abundant on all the coast from May to August and September, when the spermaceti also is often met with in considerable numbers, fisheries might here be advantageously established. Its situation would moreover command a free intercourse and commerce with every point on the entire coasts of Madagascar, at all seasons of the year. Should this bay fall into the possession either of the Americans, the French, or the Russians, it would be most ruinous, not only to the Cape colony, but to our East India possessions and commerce, either in peace or war: in peace by becoming a mart for all East India productions; and in war as

being one of the finest ports in the world, whence inimical enterprises might issue at pleasure."*

In March, 1823, the kingdom of Tembi, lying between the English and Mapoota rivers, was ceded to the British government by the king, Kapell; who, together with Slengelly, Shamaguarra, and Capenfenick, his principal chiefs, expressed an earnest wish to have teachers established among his people. Our late colleague, the Rev. William Threlfall, was therefore induced to proceed thither soon afterward; but not being sufficiently careful to adopt those precautions which circumstances and the climate rendered absolutely necessary on his arrival, ill health unhappily obliged him to return after a stay of but very few weeks. Since that period no part of these dark lands has been so much as marked by the foot of a Christian minister; and in vain does the eye, even at this moment, roam over the vast and numerous territories into which the whole coast, from Umzimvoobu to Mozambique, is divided, in search of a single pious or spiritual instructer! A view of the map now before me is truly chilling! At all its ports we hear of wars, of trade, of gold dust, of ivory, and of slaves; but not a word about the perishing condition of its innumerable inhabitants. At Rio de Senna indeed, the Portuguese colony, lying between 15° and 20° south lat., and from 27° to 37° east of London, there are a number of Dominican friars, who, as observed by the late Governor Terao,† "ought to teach evangelical morality to the whites" (blacks have neither part nor lot in the matter), "since for that end were they appointed to their parishes:" but if even their profound ignorance was not a sufficient bar to the performance of their duties, little or no benefit could be derived from the instruction of persons of depraved and infamous habits, who make a mere commercial speculation of their ministry. At present there is not a single establishment for the instruction of youth, nor are there any funds which are

* South African Quarterly Journal for 1830, p. 143, 144.

† This gentleman was governor of the captaincy, and a young man of considerable promise; but shortly after writing an account of the settlement in 1820, he was stabbed by one of his own officers. The Portuguese manuscript was obtained by Captain Owen, of his majesty's ship Leven, while surveying the south-east coast, a year or two afterward.—*Ibid.* p. 49.

so applied: hence it follows that the children of each family are imperfectly instructed at home, no persons being found at all capable of undertaking such a charge, however willing parents might be to remunerate them. In 1805, the inhabitants of Tette (one of the principal towns of the settlement) made choice of a poor unbeneficed priest, as a fit person to instruct their children in reading, writing, and the Christian doctrines. The other friars, however, used all their power and intrigue to get him removed to Senna, where he now is in utter idleness, and without any employment whatever: this they did from pure malignity, proving themselves to be bitter enemies to the public welfare. These forced celibats throw every obstacle in the way of matrimony, even in the marriages of the poorest people, for the sole purpose of extorting money, in every possible manner, however indecent, unjust, and tyrannical. This will account for their debauchery and immorality; many living in a state of open and public concubinage, rather than pay the exorbitant fees imposed upon the marriage rites.

"All the inhabitants of Rio de Senna live by the interior commerce, and the fruits cultivated on their lands by the natives. The mercantile transactions are carried on entirely by slaves belonging to the inhabitants, who have acquired a knowledge of the country, and are called Massambazes. These go forth every year, attended by other slaves, as carriers of goods proper for the trade, and in due time return with gold, ivory, and slaves. Besides this commerce, many keep a number of slaves employed at the mines in the interior districts of Quitove, Manica,* Mazezurus, Abatiri, Zemba, Maxongo, and Mano, which yield them gold at a trifling expense. The indolent and inactive lord (senhor), whose business requires neither a speculation, nor even a combination of ideas, passes his days either in sleeping, smoking, or drinking tea; or if by any chance he should sally forth from his house, it is at sunrise, when he presents a ridiculous spectacle of fastidious state and indolent stupidity, being swung in a hammock (*machila*), which is carried by four miserable slaves. Of these poor creatures, some of the senhors possess from six

* In this district the Maneiss or King George's River is said to take its rise among the mountains, between Sofala and Inhamban.

hundred to a thousand; and can easily augment the number to any amount, being always able, in the course of two or three months, to obtain as many hundreds!

"The commercial affairs of this part of Africa extend over an immense territory, whose length from north to south is about three hundred and fifty leagues, from Cuzembe to Manica; and two hundred leagues from east to west, from Quillimane to Zumbo. But as the merchants send their goods far beyond these places, we may safely add fifty leagues to the above dimensions; which will make the mercantile transactions of the Rio de Senna extend over a space of 87,500 square leagues. The bare recollection that the whole of this ground is, and long has been, regularly traversed by slave-dealers, is quite enough to make one shudder, and ought to act as a stimulus to hearty co-operation in every plan which has for its object the total abolition of this nefarious source of gain. Slaves are among the principal and staple commodities. 'If,' says Terao, 'we except the gold, ivory, and slaves, all the other exports are of little value!'

"Throughout the captaincy, interior navigation might be established on a larger scale than in any other part of Africa; the chief part of America, indeed, falls short of it in this respect. The Zambeza might be rendered navigable throughout the year as far as nine hundred miles above Quillimane into the interior of Zumbo, if two obstacles were removed: the first of which is, some rocks impeding the navigation at a place called Cabrabaca, between Chicova and Tette, where boats can never pass. The second might be easily removed, as it only impedes the navigation six months in the year. The Zambeza divides into two branches, about thirty leagues above Quillimane, the left branch of which passes the town, and is only navigable in the winter season, on account of the sands which collect at the point of separation. The waters of the river in the other season pass down the right arm and discharge themselves into the sea at the bar of Ohrida. By opening a canal half a league in length, the left branch might be pursued at all seasons of the year with great facility. Notwithstanding this difficulty, the navigation is made (although laboriously) by means of a canal which communicates with another branch of the river, and affords

a passage to numerous small craft, assisted by the tide-waters, which communicate from without through the medium of the before mentioned canal, called Rio Maindo. Inferior rivers fall into the Zambeza, and water the land of the interior,—thus affording great facilities to the inland commerce. Such is the Ravuga, which rises to the northward of the Zambeza, in the Marave's country, and falls into it half a league below Tette; the Aroanha, which, passing through Monopotapa, joins the Zambeza on its right bank between Tette and the pass of Laputa; and the Cline, a large stream, whose source we are as yet ignorant of, which, after passing through the territory of the Marave Kaffers (the chief manufacturers of all the hoes used in the captaincy of Senna, as well as at Mozambique, Inhamban, &c. &c.), forms a junction with the Zambeza near Senna."*

CHAPTER XVII.

Changes effected by the introduction of Christianity—Plough at work on every station—Sorcerers constrained to flee—Translations in progress—Missionary meeting at Wesleyville—General increase of knowledge—Happy results—Population of Albany—Improved administration of justice—Agriculture—Climate—Productions—Gryllivori, or locust-birds—Commerce—Kaffer trade: its commencement; progress; importance—Albany exports—Graham's Town market—Places of worship—Schools—Infant-schools—Salem academy—Missionary spirit and effort.

On our return to the colony, reflection led me, while passing along, to remark on the change that is manifest in all places where the gospel has been established. A mere traveller, or stranger, visiting these parts might perhaps be ready, from general appearances, to conclude that little or nothing had been effected; that because he found not villages in complete European style, communities of well-dressed persons, and houses furnished according to his own views and taste, no change whatever had been wrought. But a contrast of the present with

* South African Quarterly Journal, 1830, p. 61, 62.

the past furnishes satisfactory and abundant evidence to the contrary: the simple testimony of the native himself will fully show that much has been done; that the condition of the female sex has even already been ameliorated; that the state of society is considerably improved; and that the doctrines of divine truth are gradually expelling from their darkened understandings the delusive phantoms of sorcery and witchcraft, &c.

Although numbers of soothsayers, wizards, and sorceresses dwelt in the immediate neighbourhood of almost every station at its commencement, there is scarcely one of these characters now to be found near any of them. They are confessedly unable to maintain their ground or sustain their reputation, where the people learn to pray, saying, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory," &c. There, instead of the sanguinary orgies of their ancestors, or the pagan ceremonies of their still benighted neighbours, who have no other help in time of trouble, nor hope of relief amid the parching droughts of summer, we find whole congregations solemnly acknowledging the hand of Divine Providence, and with our poet singing,—

> "He makes the grass the hills adorn,
> And clothes the smiling fields with corn;
> The beasts with food his hands supply,
> And the young ravens when they cry."

On every station the mission plough is busily engaged, and bids fair for ultimately putting down the field-labour of the women altogether. Having planted a few twigs of the mulberry, together with various other fruit-trees, at Mount Coke, in 1825, I now found them flourishing luxuriantly; as also at Wesleyville, where both soil and climate seem to suit them very well. I trust, therefore, that in course of time the silk-worm will be introduced, and constitute a profitable source of employment for the natives. Schools have been everywhere established; and notwithstanding the numerous difficulties arising out of a total want of books, from manuscript lessons alone many of the children have acquired a knowledge of letters, so as to be now able to read, in their own tongue, "the wonderful works of God." Their barbarous and hitherto unorganized language is at length brought into

form, and consecrated to purposes the most sacred. Grammars, dictionaries, and translations of different parts of Scripture will soon be ready for the press.

That peace, by some termed "the first work of civilization," has been greatly promoted, will appear indubitably evident from the following communication transmitted by Mr. S. Young, under date of April 12th, 1832: "My present letter," says he, "contains a short account of a missionary meeting (the first ever held in Kafferland) which took place at Wesleyville on the 21st ult. The chair was taken by Lieutenant-colonel Somerset, commandant of Caffraria, &c.; and the speakers were, Donald Moodie, Esq., Rev. W. Carlisle, clergyman of Graham's Town, and the Rev. Messrs. Shaw, Palmer, Ayliff, and Young; together with the following Kaffer chiefs, viz.—Pato, Kye, Kobus Congo, Quasana, Umpethlo, Enoo, and Abana. The meeting was held in the open air, as the chapel was not large enough to contain one-half of the people, there being from six to eight hundred persons present.

"The following are extracts from the speeches of the chieftains, translated into English:—

"*Pato.*—Do you hear that (referring to the address of the colonel and other speakers), you people? You must, therefore, believe. This word informs us that we are sinners; therefore every man must pray for himself: because the import of the word which we hear is very great, therefore pay particular attention to-day to what you hear. I was myself in darkness, and did not at all understand. We must take care and not be ashamed of what we hear.

"*Kye.*—Do you hear now, you Amakahabi (S'Lhambi's tribe of Kaffers), and you, Gonakwebu (Pato's tribe of Kaffers)? We are all fallen into the clay, and this word is come to lift us out. This word is a rich word, —more so than all cattle; therefore take hold of it, and hold it fast. Pray that it may prosper; for it is a word that will make us rich. The same God that helped our fathers in the wars is the same God who has now sent his great Word to us.

"*Kama.*—I am very glad to see you all here to-day, and especially that we are met to speak and hear God's word. I am a man who am converted, and belong to a Christian church. You may laugh at my saying this; but you who now laugh will also pray at some future

period. We shall not always live upon earth: I who now speak shall die, but my soul will not perish; God will preserve it; for he is a great God. He made Bushmen, Hottentots, Kaffers, and English. Somerset, whom you now see, is a sharp man, and sometimes rides about with balls,* and he used to drive us into the bush; but to-day he is come to speak God's word to us. Do then, my friends, think much upon what is said. I speak the more freely, knowing that I am a dying mortal.

"*Quasana*, a son of the late Dooshami.—You hear now that this is a great word, and that it is a word to quicken us, and raise us; we must therefore pay much attention to this word of peace.

"*Kobus Congo.*—This word is very great, I thank the friends who sent us this word; for before this word came we were enemies, but now we are met in peace. You always said that I was the man who drank poison, because I was always sent to our enemies to make peace. However, we shall all die, even the preachers, Kaffer chiefs, and all men; then listen to this word, and pray over it.

"*Enoo.*—You hear now, you Amakababi, and you Amagonakwebi. You ask, How was Kama converted? I say, Ask then; for you are people that can contend upon all subjects. Why then do you sit still? You hear that it was done by the word of the missionaries which they read from the book: the same word informs us that we must not look at our neighbour's goods, but look at our own. Throw away your sins to-day.

"*Umpethlo.*—Thanks, thanks to the great people, and to Somerset, for coming here to-day; and many thanks to the missionaries for bringing this great word. It is truly a sweet word, like honey; it is sweet news.

"*Abana.*—What is the word? It is God's word. Who brought it? The missionaries. Who sent them? God. Why did they come? To turn us from our sins. I thank very much indeed. I thank also that we are come together to-day without assagais and guns; they are all left at home. I thank Somerset and the missionaries; I cannot thank enough.

"The above speeches of the chiefs will not be so interesting in an English dress; as they were to us who

* Alluding to commandos, or military expeditions.

were present, and witnessed the warmth with which they were delivered, and felt the influence they diffused: and, contrasting their present circumstances and prospects with their former warlike dispositions and cruelties, we were constrained to say, 'What hath God wrought!' It was truly pleasing to see the children collecting gum from the various trees, and bringing it to sell for a few pence, in order that they might give something at the collection; and also the women bringing milk several miles for the same purpose.

"In addressing the natives on this occasion, D. Moodie, Esq. (slave guardian of the eastern province), observed, that 'while he disclaimed all intention of saying any thing to them respecting the gospel, which was more properly the business of the teachers of religion, he nevertheless congratulated the meeting upon the pleasing change which had taken place in the state of feeling between the Kaffers and the colonists within the last ten years; and which he attributed principally to our becoming better known to each other through the medium of missionaries and traders now resident in Kafferland.'"

The general increase of religious knowledge is considerable, beyond what might have been expected in the time. As observed in a late communication from Mr. Shrewsbury, "Idolatry was never known among them: hence they have no name for idol, nor any conception of what is meant by idol-worship; which circumstance renders it exceedingly difficult to translate the second commandment into language at all intelligible to them. Three names of the Divine Being, *Utixo*, *Umdali*, and *Umenzi*, seem to have obtained from time immemorial. As it respects the import of the first of these appellations they appear to have no definite notion whatever; but the signification of the others is quite clear. *Umdali* means 'Former,' from *dala* 'to form or fashion;' and *Umenzi*, 'Maker,' from *enza* 'to make.' But although these words were in their mouth, they were not in their hearts; and it may be questioned whether a single individual could be found who ever thought for one moment of the weighty truths which the words, so nigh unto them, imported: 'there were none that did understand or seek after God.' But now there are many who understand that 'in the beginning God made the heavens and the earth.' These names for the Deity, long cur-

rent among them, have greatly assisted us in teaching this primary truth; although the proper idea of creation it is more difficult to make them comprehend. This branch of knowledge, therefore, is at present almost general among all the most southern tribes; and further in the vicinity of mission stations, God is also known by his name Jehovah; and some hundreds are acquainted with that 'name which is above every name,' Jesus. This, and the word Christ, are thus written in Kaffer, *Uyesus Khristus;* and if you inquire who Jesus Christ is, the answer will be, *Umkululi wetu, unyana Ka-Tixo;* that is, 'our deliverer, the Son of God.' Moreover they have heard concerning the Holy Ghost, whom they denominate *Umoya*, which signifies both spirit and wind,—primarily the latter, for they have not separate terms for these two different ideas. All that they have learned concerning Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit is new; and this gives them an entirely new view of the Deity; as well as greatly enlarged conceptions of his glorious attributes, his perfections, and his godhead. Many hundreds now not only believe that there is a God; but that he is wise, holy, just, and good; and in some this faith is in various degrees influential, especially in those who have repented of their sins, and who have been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity.

"While, however, the names of God, the Maker of all things, were retained in their language, no worship of any kind was paid to him. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, among all these tribes, there was no Sabbath. Day and night succeeded each other from year to year without the hallowed day of rest. All days were alike common to them while they lived 'without God, and without hope in the world.' But the word of God creates a Sabbath wherever it comes; and in this respect it hath wrought a new thing in the land, there being now hundreds worshipping God on the Lord's day, where, a few years since, none sought him. This cannot but afford ground of holy rejoicing to all who have learned not to 'despise the day of small things.'"

Although circumcision is practised on all youths when thirteen or fourteen years of age, it is exclusively a civil rite, and not in any way connected with religion. An uncircumcised son would be incapable of inheriting his father's property. The origin of this rite is, with

them completely obliterated; nor can any thing exceed the astonishment which the Kaffers have often manifested, when hearing of the first institution of it in the days of Abraham. To this people British benevolence has given, though not to the extent required, Christian ministers; men, to them of a strange language, who yet are enabled, through the medium of interpreters, in many cases singularly prepared for this work by Divine Providence, to teach them to worship God in spirit and in truth; who direct them to the sacrificial offering of Christ as the sole ground of pardon and acceptance with God; who insist on the necessity of circumcision of heart, as alone morally beneficial under the Christian dispensation; who have established among them the Christian sacraments of baptism, and the supper of the Lord; and who are providing for another generation the word of God in their own tongue, and preparing the young to read that word by which they may be saved. For these nations had formerly no learning. They were a people without a book. They had no letter: no hieroglyphic, or written character of any kind. For the origin of these things they are indebted, not to infidelity, nor to Captain Stout's irreligious scheme, but to Christianity: in which indeed is all our happiness and glory.

Though destitute of religion, superstition, which is too often substituted for it, was, as foregoing facts abundantly show, everywhere met with. On the banks of the river Xakoon, there is a tremendous craggy precipice, called by the Kaffers, *Uwa Amaquira*, or the Doctor's Precipice, because they who were accused of bewitching their neighbours by those deceivers, were brought by Kahabi to this place; and, being bound hand and foot, were cast over, and, falling from crag to crag, were dashed to pieces ere they came to the bottom. For many years past, however, no victim has perished on this spot; nor is it likely that any more authorized murders will take place there.

As to morality, neither the theory nor practice of it was discernible among them in their native state. There was no justice, no mercy, no holiness, no truth; there was none that did good, no not one. On the contrary, wickedness overspread the whole land, which was full of "thefts, covetousness, lasciviousness," and almost every species of crime. Iniquity thus reigned unto death, uncontrolled and unchecked, so far as the eye of

man could discern; for the people seemed to be without any law which condemned vicious propensities, or any fear of the righteous indignation of God. That they were not absolutely without law, is evident from the circumstance of their having had for all generations words which denote moral delinquency, as *izono*, sin; *umoni*, sinner; *okungalungileyo*, unrighteousness; and *isiqiti*, transgression; besides particular words for particular offences, as theft, lying, whoredom, &c. But though they had the universal law of nature from God himself, still the veil was on their hearts, and, through the love of sin, their eyes were blinded that they could not discern it. Sin abounded to such an alarming extent, that they appeared to be without law; and unless grace had much more abounded, sending unto them the gospel, none would have been "redeemed from his iniquity," or "turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." But by the word of salvation, this change has been effected; and there are now Kaffers to be found who may be truly denominated moral men; men whose altered state is forcibly portrayed in the following beautiful stanzas (composed on the conversion of a late African chief, by the Rev. William Swan), "obedience to the faith" being manifest in the truth, honesty, industry, and general integrity of their lives.

There was a man whose very name once shed
The dews of death on every heart around;
With nightly draughts of reeking blood he fed
His glutton idol MURDER. His soul found
Its solace in the wild distracted sound
Of parents shrieking for their children slain,
Of children wailing when the moisten'd ground
The blood of parents did with crimson stain;
Destruction his delight, his pastime to give pain.

But how he cultivates his peaceful vale!
Around him youth and age in safety sleep,
And hail him with a smile! This is no tale
Drawn from the records monkish craft did keep;
For 'twas but yesterday the yesty deep
Convey'd the news that Africaner, now
Another man, doth pray, and love, and weep!
His heart is tamed, a calm sits on his brow,
The lion is a lamb! Go, skeptic, ask him, how?

He heard the tidings mercy sent from heaven;
He heard, and, melted by the Saviour's love,
Cried, "May a murderer be yet forgiven?
Save me, O Jesus, save!" while, like a dove

Descending on the prostrate from above,
The Spirit came: contrition's waters flow;
He reads the page of truth; his fears remove;
His faith and love with fairest blossoms blow,
Repentance bears her fruits, and bends her branches low.

So much then for the interior; and we shall now again turn to the settlement in its borders, the point whence we first started. Having occasion to tarry several weeks in Albany, just before our embarkation for England, I endeavoured to ascertain its real state and prospects;* and was glad to find, that, after a lapse of nearly eleven years from the time of its establishment, the most substantial signs of growing improvement were everywhere apparent. Many of its inhabitants have not only established themselves comfortably and respectably, but attained a degree of opulence at which they never could have expected to arrive, had they continued in Europe, where they must, of course, have shared in the privations of the middle and lower classes of a redundant population.

The general aspect of the district is greatly diversified by gentle undulations, by precipitous woody ravines or kloofs, by stupendous ports, or passes through the mountains, and by numerous clumps of elegant ever greens; while the whole face of the country, especially after rain, is, with some little exception, beautifully adorned by a covering of verdant pasturage. The system adopted by government of locating the settlers in parties of ten and more families together, has given rise to numerous little villages, or hamlets, which greatly embellish it. Graham's town now consists of between five and six hundred houses, including three respectable taverns, and two breweries, recently established. The greater part are built either of brick or stone. The main streets run from east to west, and are crossed by others at right angles; and, although the manner in which some of the buildings are disposed is somewhat irregular, the little gardens and orchards that are everywhere dispersed among them, together with the pecu-

* In this the author was greatly assisted by the kindness of Mr. R. Godlonton, a gentleman in Graham's Town, who is not only well acquainted with every part of the district, but who, from his official situation under government, commands a thorough knowledge both of its statistics and capabilities.

liar character of the surrounding hills, render the *coup d'œil* both pleasing and romantic.

It is here that the chief branch of the Kowie has its source; and, flowing directly through the town, it affords a tolerable supply of excellent water in all seasons. The principal public buildings erected by government are, the church, the jail, and a government-house. The latter, situate at the head of the town, was originally designed as a residence for the chief magistrate; but, excepting its occasional use as a court-house, it has remained almost wholly unoccupied, a monument only of extravagant and shameful waste of public moneys. Right in front of this, and at the distance of two or three hundred paces, stands the prison; which although a large quadrangular pile of buildings, containing twenty-seven separate apartments or cells, besides six yards, is in a great measure hid from view by the lowness of its situation. The church, named St. George's, is erected in the centre of the principal street, and in the modern Gothic style, with pointed arches and pinnacles, and with a covering of zinc upon its roof. In the interior there is a plain marble monument erected to the memory of Lieutenant-colonel Graham, who was highly respected in the colony, and whose name is perpetuated in that of the town itself. This, however, consists simply of a square block of very inferior marble, placed on a pedestal of masonry, with the profile in bas-relief of the gallant colonel in front; and does as little credit to its workman, as the selection of its situation (between the pulpit and reading-desk, fronting the communion-table) does to the taste and judgment of those who erected it.

There are upwards of two thousand souls in the town; and the entire population of the district, embracing an area of about 2,408 square miles, amounts only to six thousand three hundred and nineteen. Of these, one thousand six hundred and ninety-three are blacks or free persons of colour; and one hundred and twenty-six slaves, the property of old Dutch colonists. Four thousand two hundred and eighty-nine of its inhabitants are occupied, chiefly, in grazing, and agricultural pursuits; eight hundred in divers manufactures; and twelve hundred and thirty in different branches of commerce.

A civil commissioner, resident magistrate, and clerk of the peace constitute the principal local authorities;

all of whom reside in the town. And besides these there are two justices of the peace in commission at the other extremity of the settlement; one of whom lives at Bathurst, and receives a stipend of 100*l.* per annum.* Since the introduction of an improved system of jurisprudence, the office of chief magistrate has been filled by men possessing a practical knowledge of British law; their jurisdiction, however, is in civil cases limited to matters of dispute not exceeding 10*l.* sterling; and their sentences in those of a criminal nature, to one calendar month's imprisonment.

Albany being regularly visited every four months by one or other of the puisne judges from Cape Town, and trial by jury having also been introduced, all are now able to rejoice in privileges truly British. The character of this boon is here rendered tenfold interesting, inasmuch as it constitutes a shield to the aborigines, also to Hottentots, Bushmen, and slaves, &c., who are everywhere found scattered about, even to the remotest parts of the colony. Upon this very important improvement in the administration of justice, which commenced with the establishment of an entirely new court, in January, 1828, I cannot but dwell with peculiar delight; and shall here give the particulars of two or three cases which have come under my own eye, and which may serve to exhibit the enlightened principles now in active operation.

Enough has surely been said in proof of the unrighteous conduct of colonists in former years, towards the defenceless native; and of the inveterate spirit with which he has long had to contend. His colour, his

* A settler of the name of H. went one day (no great while after locating) to Capt. T., then acting magistrate at Bathurst, to have some advice about his land: after obtaining the information wanted, he abruptly exclaimed, "I do not know if it is worth while to bother myself about the land, as most likely I shall not be permitted to hold it!" "Not hold it," exclaimed the captain: "why not, Mr. H.?" "Why, sir, in the government circular with which we were furnished in England, there are some reservations mentioned." "Reservations, Mr. H.!" said the captain, with an air of curiosity: "what reservations?" "Why, such as mines or precious stones, sir." "What, have you any such things on your location?" "Yes, sir, I have." "Take a chair," said the captain, now all politeness, "and sit down, Mr. H. What kind of precious stones are they?" "*Precious big ones*, sir," said the wag, and retired.

habits, and even his place of habitation, have all been used as grounds of argument to prove that he belonged not to the human family, so much as to the more sagacious tribes of the quadruped race. To see him, therefore, called in evidence against his oppressors, or the latter made to feel the utmost rigour of the law for wantonly taking his life, cannot but constrain every lover of humanity to rejoice in the change already effected. Scenes of this kind are now frequently witnessed; and the white of every grade in society is, from the bench, explicitly informed that with blood only can he atone for the crime of maliciously shedding the blood even of a Bushman. This, to many, is quite a new doctrine, and one which makes the ignorant nomade, and slave-driver, look about like men just awake out of sleep.

On the 23d of May, 1828, the Somerset* sessions were opened, for the first time, by an English judge, Mr. Justice Burton; and one of the first cases was that of a Dutch farmer, who stood charged with having shot, or otherwise murdered, one of the natives. After summing up the evidence, his lordship turned to the

* This place is nearly one hundred miles from Graham's Town, and constitutes the capital of a distinct district, embracing an area of about 17,000 square miles, taken from Albany and Graff Reinett in 1825. Its site—on which the celebrated Swedish traveller Dr. Sparrman resided for a short time, in 1776, and which appears to have constituted the extent of his exploratory tour in Africa, as also of that of Vaillant—was originally a stock-farm, established by government for the more certain supply of grain and cattle for the troops stationed on the frontier. This establishment was abolished soon after its affairs had been investigated by the commissioners of inquiry; and the present village, consisting of about sixty houses and a Wesleyan-Methodist chapel,—the first place of worship ever erected in that part of South Africa,—formed in its stead. The buildings are erected along the base of Bush Berg, which here rises to an elevation of nearly 3000 feet, presenting a bold and most majestic front. At irregular distances there are narrow necks of land that slope gradually off to the base, and, like so many prodigious buttresses, appear to support the huge mass. In the intervals between these several projections there are stupendous precipices, hanging woods, and deep cataracts, which render the scenery romantic and picturesque. When heavy rains swell the numerous streamlets from above, the view becomes exceedingly grand. Unlike the usually steril and sun-burnt appearance of African mountains, the whole face of this, excepting the craggy parts, is generally covered with a lively verdure, affording excellent pasture for horses and horned cattle; herds of which are sometimes seen climbing and feeding on the highest and most dangerous points. The difference between the climate on the

jury,—consisting almost wholly of boors,—saying, "You will please to bear in mind, that he who wantonly or maliciously killeth a Bushman, who is a rational being in common with ourselves, is as culpable in the eye of the law as the man that murdereth a member of civilized society. And where the evidence is sufficiently strong to bear out and substantiate the charge in question, I should feel bound to declare the murderer of a Bushman guilty, and worthy of death, just the same as if my own brother were the person upon whom the horrid deed had been committed; for the law makes no distinction on account of a man's habits and situation in society; but, being governed in all cases of this nature by the sacred law of God, it requires that 'whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man also shall his blood be shed.'"

Somewhat more than a year afterward two boors were brought to the bar to receive judgment, in company with several Hottentots, having been fully convicted of various petty thefts. Previously to passing sentence, the judge very feelingly observed, that it was grievous to find men of that class in the criminal list; seeing that their situation in life afforded them opportunities for obtaining superior knowledge,—knowledge which ought to

summit, and that at the foot of the mountain, is astonishingly great. The latter situation is well adapted to the production of tropical fruits; and in the former the gooseberry-bush thrives remarkably well. This is the only spot in Southern Africa on which I have seen or heard of this little European tree being rendered at all fruitful. It must, however, be observed, that the fruit is neither so large, so abundant, nor so excellent as in England. The Somerset district is bounded on the south by an imaginary line drawn from Sunday's River Point to the junction of the Soso with the Koonap; on the coast, by the Koonap River and Winterberg, which separates it from the Bushman's country, and from thence to the Zwaart Rae and Stormberg rivers; on the north by the Orange River; and on the west by the Sunday's River, Little Reit River, Plat River, and Brandt Spruit. Its greatest length is two hundred miles, and its mean breadth eighty-five. Its entire population being only 10,161 (6,253 whites, 2,515 free persons of colour, and 1,393 slaves), there is but one and three-fifths to each square mile. In the northern parts of the district there are several hot and cold springs, which are supposed to be strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen gas, united with lime. Some of these springs are held in high repute by valetudinarians, as possessing great efficacy in the cure of many chronic diseases. It has been asserted, by a highly respectable writer on the Cape, that canine madness and hydrophobia form no part of the diseases indigenous to Southern Africa: the author, however, had here an opportunity of witnessing a most decided case of this kind in October, 1827; and many others, equally direful, have taken place in different parts of the colony.

have had its influence in keeping them above the level of those whom they regarded as being so much inferior to themselves, but with whom they now stood associated. "However your complexion may differ," said his lordship, "from that of your fellow-prisoners, your crimes have rendered you equally culpable; and, as it regards the punishment due to such crimes, whether committed by the most intelligent and exalted member of society, or by the rudest Hottentot, the law makes no difference; neither can I make any." Hence they were both sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and hard labour; which also constituted the penalty of several of their swarthy companions.

Having occasion to visit Graaf-Reinet, one of the oldest and best-regulated towns in the colony, in the month of June, 1829, I accompanied my kind friend, the Rev. A. M., to the court-house, where the following extraordinary case was then pending before Mr. Justice Kekewich and a mixed jury, partly English and partly Dutch. In the course of the trial it appeared that Mynheer C., of Sneeuwberg, had, for some years, been greatly afflicted with the gout; and after trying various means to little or no purpose, he called in the aid of one Dampies, a celebrated Hottentot magician. This fellow, when examined respecting the charges preferred against him, very gravely informed the magistrate that he obtained superior skill, in all matters of this kind, directly from heaven; and that the disease in question was to be ascribed entirely to the talismanic operations of one Cupido, an old slave, who, in order to undermine his master's constitution, had actually undermined his door-threshold, and there deposited certain locks of curly hair, together with a number of finger-nail parings! Thus accused, poor Cupido had been forcibly dragged into the patient's sitting-room, and there put through the following fiery ordeal:—A quantity of hair was first plucked from his head, and stuffed into certain reeds, which, together with several others, he was required to hold in his hand. To these Dampies set fire, saying, "Now you will see that the reeds in which his train is, will grow longer, instead of burning shorter!" This, however, did not prove to be the case; for they soon burned down to the hand, insomuch that he was under the necessity of throwing them away. A broomstick was then placed in the middle of the floor, and a cross

made with chalk, within which a quantity of brimstone and hogslard was set on fire: over this the poor slave, almost naked, was compelled to jump backwards and forwards three times, which he accomplished without falling, contrary to the prediction of the master of the ceremony. The same trick was repeated in another part of the room, but with no other effect; upon which Dampies angrily exclaimed, "You jackal, I'll make you confess that you have bewitched your master:" so saying, he placed him on a footstool, bound his hands and arms with wet thongs, and kept the brimstone burning before him until his breast and other parts were severely scorched. Not satisfied with this, he besmeared his head with fat and brandy, ignited the hair, and, at the same time, held a lighted candle to the back of the sufferer; who, nevertheless, uniformly persisted in declaring that he had never so much as thought of injuring his master; and, in proof of the complaint not originating with him, he again and again entreated them to remember that the latter was labouring under it long before he ever came into his service. He was next, however, held up by the heels, and in this position underwent a most unmerciful flagellation, which appears to have left him almost dead. His sufferings being now extreme, he at length yielded to the solicitations of his tormentor; and, as he stated to the court, with the view of getting rid of him, said that he had caused the illness of Mynheer C. Upon which, search was immediately made under the threshold for the potent nail-parings; but in vain, for nothing of the kind could be found!

The prisoner, being fully convicted of the cruelty alleged against him, was condemned to receive, on his bare back, forty-five lashes with a cat-o'nine-tails, in the public market-place, and to be confined to hard labour for the space of two years. Why the slave-owner himself was not called to an account, seeing that the whole of these diabolical proceedings went on, not only under his express authority, but in his presence also, is extremely difficult to conceive; and the more so as the late slave-guardian of the eastern province was, of course, present during the whole of the trial.

We shall next proceed to notice the agricultural interest of the settlement. And, as before intimated, the efforts of the settlers to raise wheat have been equally

unceasing and unsuccessful.* Notwithstanding every precaution, every successive crop has been either wholly or partially destroyed by rust; so that the quantity now sown is comparatively small, and chiefly in the way of experiment on different kinds of seed. Eleven years' experience seems to prove that Indian corn, or maize, must be regarded as the staple bread-corn of the district. The value of this grain, which is sufficiently strong effectually to resist the deleterious effects of the disease above mentioned, is incalculable. It makes very sweet and wholesome bread, and is said to be superior to almost every other kind of grain for feeding farm-yard stock.

"The climate of Albany is temperate and salubrious, and may be pronounced highly congenial to a European constitution, as well as eminently restorative to such as have been impaired by the enervating effects of a tropical sun. The cold is never very severe; the thermometer, in the depth of winter, being seldom below the freezing point, while the heat of summer is rarely oppressive. No tropical fruits here attain perfection. The orange does not ripen until the winter is far advanced, and never attains that degree of excellence it is found to possess in warmer climates. Bananas and similar fruits never reach maturity. The peach, apricot, apple, pear, quince, pomegranate, almond, walnut, and several others of a like description, grow with great rapidity, and produce abundantly. Whether the climate be perfectly congenial to the growth of the vine, has not yet been fully ascertained. Several vineyards have been planted, which, during the year 1830, produced a considerable return of fine fruit; but, in general, the north and west winds which prevail in the summer months have been found highly detrimental to the vine, and destructive of the grape. A small quantity of wine has been made: and in one instance, on a farm situated on the western border of the district, the sample produced was considered of very superior quality."† Flax, hemp, cotton, rhubarb, and many other exotic and indigenous plants might, there is reason to believe, be successfully cultivated as articles for exportation, and by due atten-

* The two last seasons have been remarkably favourable, and the crops so abundant, that the supply of grain greatly exceeds the demand.—Vide *Graham's Town Journal, April*, 1832.

† South African Almanac, 1831.

tion would, doubtless, return ample remuneration for the labour of production.

"Although a considerable portion of the district is covered with wood, it does not furnish useful timber of any great variety, or of any considerable quantity. The geel-hout (*taxus elongatus*), or yellow-wood, attains considerable growth, and is used for all the purposes of house-building; it is, however, greatly affected by atmospheric variations, and by no means durable. Albany does not present a very wide field for geological research. Fossils or minerals of any scarcity or celebrity have never been found; nor are there within its precincts any mountains or hills at all extraordinary, either in formation or elevation. Indications of iron ore may be seen in every direction; but it is doubtful whether the quantity of ore to be found in any one place would pay for collecting it. Manganese is also frequently met with. Limestone, likewise, is found in abundance near the sea-coast. The principal quarries that have been worked are situated between Bathurst and the Great Fish River; but the quantity prepared for sale is, at present, much less than formerly. Stone for building purposes is found in every part of the district; and numerous quarries have been opened,—particularly in the neighbourhood of Bathurst,—of an indurated limestone, resembling freestone, of a whitish yellow colour. It is easily worked when first quarried, and is readily cut into square blocks for building, but hardens on being exposed to the atmosphere."

The extreme dryness of the soil in most places, and the utter impracticability of irrigation, have proved great drawbacks upon the industry of the gardener. This, however, is now, in some measure, met by the introduction of the boring system. Numerous wells have been dug, and, in many places, excellent supplies of water obtained. Of this plan, the old Dutch colonists seem never to have thought; and its success has astonished many of them above measure. Some have been induced to try the experiment on their own farms, and have thereby enhanced their value very considerably. To assist them in works of this description, and in others equally useful, many of the English have been employed by the boors in different parts of the country; by which means European arts and mechanism are gradually spreading, and everywhere inducing an improved prin-

ciple of action. Having on several occasions been struck with the manifest superiority of many of the farm-houses erected within the last six or seven years, I have again and again been led to ask, who built them; when the reply has generally been, "Mr. ——, or Mr. ——, *een Englesche settlaar.*"

Mynheer K., who occupies a spacious nook in the mountains not far from Graaf Reinet, informed me, that he kept one of the emigrants, a carpenter, constantly employed; and, leading me into his wagon-shed, showed me the wood-work he was preparing for an excellent new house then in progress. The improvements which have been made by this industrious old gentleman, who is quite an example to his countrymen, far exceed the expectations of the visiter on entering his glen. It is much to be regretted, that his praiseworthy efforts have not tended to arouse his lethargic and nomadish neighbours, many of whom content themselves with a miserable dwelling of reeds and mud; in front of which we usually find immense piles of sheep or cattle-dung surrounded with bones innumerable. After leaving the stony roads over which we had travelled, and passing through an aloe forest, indicative in general of barrenness and sterility, I was agreeably surprised by the appearance of several good brick buildings forming a fine large square; gardens and vineyards skilfully laid out and well enclosed; extensive plots of corn-land bearing evident marks of persevering toil; substantial quince hedges, six or eight feet high, planted on each side of the various entrances to the yard; and a good, though somewhat antique, farm-house, with a beautiful grove of orange-trees in front. These form a delightful retreat during the heat of the day; and the freshness of their ever-green foliage is in pleasing contrast with the brown rocky peaks and sun-burnt hills which almost encompass the estate. Although several wagons had but just before been loaded from them, every tree was still richly laden with fruit.

Having entered the rural and homely mansion, my admiration of its exterior was heightened by indubitable evidences of piety in its owner; whose manners and hospitality were quite of patriarchal character. The comfort and instruction of his numerous train of heathen domestics were evidently objects to which he had long devoted considerable attention. A commodious and ex-

tensive range of buildings was entirely appropriated to their use; and, with the view of preventing strife or contention, each of his male servants (bond as well as free) was provided with a separate apartment. One of his oldest slaves, who was also steward to his household, had, a few months prior to my visit, been baptized and publicly admitted as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. All in his employ were taught to read by a person whom he had hired for the purpose: divine service also was held among them every Sabbath-day, and once or twice in the week besides. At his request I preached to them in his large hall after sunset; when, like the rest of the family, the sable part of my congregation were all decently attired, and seated upon chairs, —a circumstance that rarely occurs in a boor's house, the *zwarte goederen* ("black goods," as they are frequently termed) being generally required to sit on the floor. The old policy of the country, which was to keep the pagan part of its population in a state of perpetual degradation, is now happily yielding to the growing influence of Christian philanthropy.

On accompanying our host over his grounds, he very earnestly directed my attention to the visible traces of a dreadful act committed by the Kaffers many years ago. The herds of his deceased father, who was the original proprietor of the estate, having on one occasion become the object of savage cupidity, a predatory band of natives suddenly pounced upon, and drove off, the greater part of them. They then set fire to his rustic dwelling, and burnt it to the ground. The ruins only remain to show where it stood. I hereupon informed him of the extent to which the gospel had already spread among the different hordes that had been the terror of former days; which induced a significant shrug, and a very plain intimation, that he could scarcely believe it possible for Christianity to make much progress among such "black barbarians."

A gentle ride of four or five hours from his farm brought us to Graaf Reinet, one of the oldest towns in the colony; where a considerable number of the emigrants have settled. This place lies in a kind of basin formed by nature, with barren hills all round; the climate is consequently oppressively hot in summer, though oftentimes intensely cold in winter. There are about three hundred houses, built principally of brick, and belonging

almost wholly to the Dutch. The streets are wide, and laid out at right angles, with rows of lemon-trees planted all along each side. The supply of water derived from the Sunday's River, is so abundant, that the rippling streams, which delight both eye and ear in a parched land like this, are seen running off in every direction to the remotest parts of the town. There is scarcely a house throughout the vale that has not an orchard or vineyard attached to it; and each richly enjoys the means of irrigation: so that, when viewed from the adjacent heights, the whole place appears to be one complete garden. Besides an excellent new church, capable of holding nearly two thousand souls, there is a chapel also, in which the heathen are statedly assembled both on Sabbath and week days to receive Christian instruction; and in which, two or three days in the week, they are taught to read and write also. A large schoolhouse likewise has been built, and a schoolmaster provided by government: the Lancasterian system of teaching is adopted, and the English language most successfully introduced.

The year (1828) having been ushered in by immense swarms of locusts, which literally darkened the heavens for several days, every part of the country round about this place was in a truly deplorable state. It is utterly impossible for any one who has not been an eyewitness of those flying armies, to form an adequate idea, either of their numbers or destructiveness. When on the wing, they appear like a black cloud at a distance; but when they arrive, the density of their host intercepts the solar rays, occasioning an awful gloom like that of an eclipse, and causes a noise like the rushing of a torrent. One single flight not unfrequently covers the face of the country for many miles every way. Here, it appears, they were so thickly spread on the ground throughout every street, that it was with the utmost difficulty the inhabitants kept them out of their houses. The water conduits were filled; and the putrid effluvia arising from the heaps of dead ones became so offensive as to excite alarming apprehensions. The river itself was contaminated to such a degree that the waters stunk; and a pestilence was feared as the consequence. Having devoured every green thing of herbage and vegetable kind, excepting peas and French beans, those voracious insects next fell upon the trees; the branches

of which were actually weighed down with them. Every vine was attacked, and the chief of the vineyards destroyed. The manner in which they effected this was remarkable. Not a grape was eaten; but the thread by which the bunch hung suspended from the branch, was bitten off close to the stem; consequently the fruit fell to the ground; and being unripe it was in a great measure useless. Many of these little creatures, when separately viewed, are extremely curious, and very pleasing. But when considered collectively, as destroyers of a country, the sound of them is really awful. Desolation and famine mark their progress: all the expectations of the husbandman vanish; his fields, which the rising sun beheld covered with luxuriance, are, before evening, a desert; for wherever they alight, not a leaf is left upon the trees, a blade of grass in the pasture, nor an ear of corn in the field.

Providence, however, rarely permits a bane, without also affording us an antidote. "We are happy," says the editor of the Graham's Town Journal (February, 1832), "in being able to announce that the locust-bird has at last visited this district in such numbers, that there is every prospect of a deliverance from the locusts now in their larval state. Mr. D., residing at the Kaha, states, that a few days ago on his way to town his attention was attracted by the singular appearance of one quarter of the sky, which appeared darkened, though no clouds were to be seen: the appearance was soon explained by the arrival of myriads of locust-birds, who fell voraciously upon the young locusts, without so much as noticing Mr. D's. wagon, although it passed through the midst of them."*

The bird here alluded to seems to be a species of thrush, migratory in its habits, and only met with in places frequented by the migratory locust. The head, breast, and back, are of a pale, cinereous colour: the abdomen and rump white; wings and tail black; the latter short, and a little forked. From the angle of the mouth, a naked area of sulphureous yellow extends

* Cattle also are not unfrequently found eating the locusts with avidity; and the poor Bushmen too, together with other scattered hordes of the desert, often gather, and lay up a kind of winter store of them. Having taken off the legs and wings, they first roast, and afterward reduce the bodies to dust; with which their bags are then filled, like those of the farmer with flour.

under the eye, and a little beyond it; and there are two naked black striæ under the throat. The specific name of *gryllivorous* may with propriety be given to it, as its whole food seems to consist of the larvæ of this insect, at least where they are to be obtained. The numbers of the *gryllivori* are not less astonishing than those of the locusts. Their nests, which at a distance appear to be of great magnitude, are found on examination to consist of a number of cells, each of which is a separate nest, with a tube leading into it through the side. Of such cells, each nest contains of from six to twenty; and one general roof of interwoven twigs covers the whole, like that made by the magpie. Their eggs are of a bluish white, spotted here and there with small faint reddish specks, and seldom exceeding five or six in a nest.*

The frequent visits of the above-mentioned insect, together with the extreme variableness of the seasons, renders the prospects of the agriculturist exceedingly precarious; while the quantum of land granted to the respective emigrants was in general far too small to afford constant pasturage for such a number of cattle as are indispensably requisite for the comfortable maintenance of a family. Those who have the means of combining grazing with agriculture, however, will doubtless, by judicious management, at all times secure a comfortable subsistence with ordinary labour, and without much outlay of capital. While hides, horns, and tallow maintain their present prices, the occupation of a grazier indeed will be found far from unprofitable. Convinced of this, considerable attention has been paid to the acquisition of stock throughout the settlement, as will appear from the following table, which exhibits the total of flocks and herds in the district at the close of 1831; namely,—

Horses,	1,892
Horned Cattle,	29,175
Cape Sheep,	78,000
Spanish do.	10,000
Goats,	15,000

Certain parts of Albany are altogether unsuitable for

* Barrow's Travels, vol. i. p. 212.

sheep farming. This may be attributed to the sandy nature of the soil, the great humidity of the sea-air, in the vicinity of the coast, together with the rank and luxuriant quality of the grasses: in consequence of which sheep do not thrive, but are liable to many diseases seldom prevalent in drier situations. A considerable portion of the district, however, being well adapted to sheep-husbandry, great hopes are entertained that, in the course of a few years, wool will become its staple export. From experiments already made, by repeatedly crossing the native sheep with pure merino rams, wool of excellent quality has been produced, and the proprietors are beginning to realize the fruit of their laudable perseverance. One farmer alone estimates the value of the next shearing from a flock of 4,600 sheep, at no less a sum than 625*l.* sterling, calculating at a price actually offered.

The number of fine-woolled sheep in Albany cannot be estimated greatly to exceed 10,000; and from many of these, the fleeces are not sufficiently pure to be worth exporting. From the return of stock it will be seen, that the total amount of sheep in the district is somewhat under 90,000; of which the flock above alluded to is only a fraction over the twentieth part; hence it follows, that had woolled sheep been bred instead of native, and had equal attention been paid to the subject, the value of the wool produced would have amounted to the large sum of 12,500*l.* The fact, that Albany alone is capable of maintaining 300,000 sheep, shows the paramount importance of this subject with reference to the colony at large; and every well-wisher to its prosperity will endeavour to explode that mistaken prejudice, productive of a most baneful inactivity, which induces many of its farmers to prefer retaining the large-tailed and hairy Cape sheep to those of Europe.

"The manufactures of the settlement are at present inconsiderable, and do not furnish of any commodity a surplus beyond the consumption of the inhabitants. As already remarked, artisans of almost every description have established themselves in various parts of the district; and at Bathurst, two West-of-England clothiers have successfully commenced the manufacture of blankets and kersey from the wool of the country. Hats, light but durable, are also made at Graham's Town from the same material.

"Undertakings of this kind, and indeed the inhabitants in general, labour under very serious disabilities from the want of sufficient assistance: servants of all descriptions are obtained with difficulty; and when engaged, are seldom retained in service for any length of time. The industrious and steady very soon acquire the means of commencing on their own account; while the idle and dissipated contrive to follow the bent of their inclinations without engaging in any regular employment. An attempt has recently been made to establish a society for the purpose of encouraging the introduction of working-hands from the United Kingdom. The subject of emigration has of late engrossed much of the attention of the British Parliament; in the course of which, however, this colony has been entirely overlooked. This can have arisen from no other cause than the strong prejudice excited by various misrepresentations, describing it as wholly incapable of absorbing, or of comfortably maintaining, any considerable number of the working classes. It may, however, be affirmed, that there is no country where a new settler on his first arrival has less inconvenience to endure, where labour is more in request, or where, in proportion to the cheapness of the necessaries of life, the moderate exercise of industry obtains so high a remuneration. The following will show the average rates paid for in Albany:—

	£	s.	d.	
Mechanics - - per diem	0	5	0	Without food or clothes.
Labourers (European) do.	0	3	9	
Do. (free coloured) do.	0	1	6	
House-servant (European) per month. - - - - -	2	5	0	With food and lodging.*
Do., or wagon-driver (free coloured) per month -	0	15	0	

Clothing, being all imported from England or India, is somewhat high: but provisions are in general remarkably low; mutton seldom exceeding three halfpence, and beef three farthings, per pound.

The commercial prospects of Albany have improved beyond all expectation; and its trade with the Kaffer and other native tribes is annually becoming more and

* South African Almanac, 1832, p. 189, 190.

more important. When the emigrants first arrived, and for a considerable time afterward, all intercourse with their neighbours was most strictly prohibited, "as having a direct tendency to produce disputes and animosities; and to give the latter opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the country, and of forming dangerous coalitions with the Hottentots."*

But, as stated in the South African Almanac (published by Mr. Grieg, Cape Town), "the information propagated from time to time by missionaries and intelligent travellers, relative to the habits and real disposition of the tribes, together with the enterprising spirit of the new colonists, induced government at length to make some relaxations; and ultimately to establish a market, or fair, for the mutual benefit both of Kaffers and colonists. This measure was contemplated, and a proclamation issued, by Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, the acting governor, in 1821; but it was not until" July, or August 1824, that the traffic became fully established. The settlers, "struggling under the pressure of a continued series of failures in their crops, rejoiced at the promise of this new field of speculation; and great numbers immediately embarked in the trade with astonishing avidity. Ivory and hides, for which were exchanged beads, buttons, and brass wire, were the principal articles of barter; and within the short period of twenty-two months, 112,943 pounds of the first-mentioned article, and 46,575 hides, estimated at 27,623*l.*, passed through Albany, and contributed greatly to the enlargement of Graham's Town.

"The obvious success of the earliest adventurers at the fair soon attracted additional speculators in its busy sphere: the market was overstocked with traders, and an injudicious and angry competition produced a too minute division of the profits. Besides this, the supply of ivory, the most valuable article of produce, suddenly fell off to one-fourth of its usual quantity, on account of the rapid consumption of the hoards which the natives had been collecting for many years; while at the same time, the taste of the Kaffers, satiated with the old and cheap description of bead, became extraordinarily capricious, and required for its indulgence a more expen-

* Vide report of his majesty's commissioners of inquiry, on the Cape colony.

sive kind, the shape, colour, and size of which varied with almost every succeeding fair. The consequence of these combined circumstances was the failure of most of the traders in 1826; who, without experience, laid in large stores of a particular kind of bead, which appeared especially to catch the fancy of the admiring savage; and thus contracted ruinous debts to the merchants for an article which the Kaffers speedily ceased to desire, and which was valueless to any other person. Those of the traders who were able to weather the storm, having at length learned prudence, soon made the traffic advantageous; and although the quantity of ivory is considerably diminished, the supply of other produce has continued large and steady, and the Kaffer fair may now be relied on as one of the most important and certain resources of the eastern province. The value of articles imported into the colony through this channel between the 18th August, 1824, and June, 1829, is considered as amounting to 50,000*l.* at least;" and in one of the Cape papers of April, 1832, is the following extract of a letter from Graham's Town:—

"The traffic with the native tribes has increased in a surprising degree. The value of native produce actually brought into Graham's Town alone is estimated, for several months past, to have amounted to no less than from 700*l.* to 1000*l.* weekly."*

"In calculating the advantages gained in a pecuniary way to the settlement, the colony at large, and even to the mother country, by the creation of a new market for her manufactures, small as it may at present seem, the moral effects of the new and liberal system of intercourse ought certainly not to be overlooked; and among these (as a resident) I would from my own knowledge enumerate the decreased amount of depredations upon our cattle, and the entire cessation of murder by

* The persons engaged in this traffic have, during the past year (1831), extended their journeys as far northward as lat. 26° or 27°; and on the eastern coast several traders have visited Port Natal, to which place the roads may now be considered open and direct. Until very recently this point could not be reached from the colony without making a tedious detour to avoid the Umzimvooboo, the precipitous banks of which presented a formidable obstacle to the progress of wheel-carriages. But on a late journey made thither by some enterprising traders from Albany, this difficulty was removed. With the assistance of one hundred of the natives, a direct road has been cut leading across this river, and the journey is thereby rendered considerably less tedious and difficult.

the Kaffers within the boundary. These are established facts, which every inhabitant of Albany shows in the impunity with which he exposes himself, unarmed, in the most retired jungles of the country, and in the ease of mind with which he now retires at night from his formerly fearfully-watched cattle-fold."*

Shortly after the establishment of the above-mentioned fair (held at Fort Wilshire), his excellency the governor issued another proclamation, opening the way for mercantile adventurers to proceed beyond the Gariep, or Orange River, whence also produce to a very considerable amount was brought into the colony. In 1827 a second fair was established on the Kaffer frontier; but the comparative smallness of its returns led to its discontinuance about the end of 1828. While these, however, constituted the principal mediums of intercourse, there were yet others which equally tended to strengthen the connexion. Several individuals of approved character were allowed licenses from government to pass the boundary, for the purpose of trading with the natives at their own hamlets; and one of these is said to have brought in produce to the amount of 1800*l.* annually, besides the usual articles of barter. At one of our mission stations also, there has long been a shop, which was opened under the express sanction of General Bourke, the lieutenant-governor; and which belongs to Mr. R. Walker, formerly of Manchester. This has been of essential service to the surrounding clans, who have hereby been enabled to furnish themselves with a variety of useful articles, wearing apparel, iron cooking-pots, knives, hatchets, implements of agriculture, &c., at moderate prices, and in a manner best adapted to their circumstances.

The amount of sales at this establishment alone, between July, 1827, and December 31, 1828, was about 9000 rix-dollars, or 657*l.* sterling. The different articles of merchandise were paid for by the people:—in hides, 659; ivory, 230 pounds; sambocs, 393;† horns,

* Cape Directory, p. 259, 260.

† These are whips made out of the hide of the hippopotamus and rhinoceros; which, according to Burckhardt, are manufactured by the northern Africans also "at Sennaar, and on the Nile above that place. Immediately after being taken off, the skin is cut into narrow strips, about five or six feet in length, gradually tapering to a point. Each strip is then rolled up, so that the edges unite and form

9394; and cash.* But to this, as well as to the "private border trade," considerable opposition was raised by the frequenters of the Fort Willshire market, on the plea of interference with their privileges; and an interdict was consequently laid upon all who had been allowed to traffic in the Amaxosæan territory. The colonial government, however, is doubtless ere this convinced not only of the necessity, but of the utility also of a free trade; for, as was justly observed by a late distinguished statesman, "the history of all modern commerce proves, that wherever free scope is given to capital, to industry, to the stirring intelligence and active spirit of adventure, which so strongly mark the present times, you are in fact opening new roads to enterprise, and affording new facilities to the interchange of the productions of the different regions of the earth;—that interchange whose advantages must be reciprocal, and its extension to new countries one of the surest harbingers of their improvement and civilization."†

The moral disadvantages of commercial enterprise, and its manifest tendency, in the hands of some men, to corrupt even the heathen themselves, are evils which cannot be too deeply deplored. It nevertheless constitutes a means in the hands of Providence calculated to promote that civilization for which the gospel has prepared the people, and to open a more frequent intercourse with interior tribes, which will greatly facilitate the establishment of Christian missions among them. "Many of those engaged in regular trade with the Kaffers are not satisfied now with merely visiting the country, but they are taking out their families, and becoming residents in it. English settlers are thus dispersed all over the land, as far as Morley. Several of these have been members of the Methodist society in the colony; and their little settlements will form so

a pipe, in which state it is tied fast, and left to dry in the sun. In order to render these whips pliable, they must be rubbed with butter or grease. At Shendy they are sold at the rate of twelve or six teen for a Spanish dollar. In Egypt, where they are in general use, and the dread of every servant and peasant, they are worth from half a dollar to a dollar each. In colder climates, even in Syria, they become brittle, crack, and lose their elasticity."—*Burckhardt's Nubia.*

* British coin, which is now the currency of the colony, has been introduced among the natives also; and will, in all probability, soon be extensively circulated.

† Huskisson's speech on free trade.

many points in various directions for collecting Sunday congregations, and afford to each missionary, in a way never contemplated by us, such local help in our respective tribes as we have long ardently desired, but could never see how it could possibly be obtained. As a specimen of the value of such local assistance, it may be stated, that about twenty miles from Wesleyville, in Pato's tribe, where a pious and valuable young man, connected with us, is living as a trader, a regular congregation of seventy hearers is collected on the Sabbath; a small class is likewise met by him; and a Sunday-school, containing about fifty children, has been opened. By this means a kind of new era is commencing in our missions; so that without greatly multiplying missionaries in a tribe, we shall be able to meet the wants of this scattered population; and, without expense, promote the gospel of the ever-blessed God, together with a rapidly increasing knowledge of the English language. Certainly this is of God; and to my own mind it appears, with all the clearness of demonstration, that from year to year God is working out good for Africa." (See Miss. Notices, Feb. 1833.)

"In addition to hides and horns, Albany exports ivory, ostrich feathers, tallow, butter, buck-skins, and several other articles of minor importance. The following abstract, compiled from authenticated returns furnished by different traders at Graham's Town, shows an increase on the exports of 1830, beyond those of the preceding year, to the amount of 15,974*l.*; and indicates in a forcible manner the rising importance of the frontier trade:—

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Raw or Green Hides	12,774	12	0
Dry do.	14,328	18	0
Horns	4,230	0	0
Wool	241	6	0
Ivory	3,104	15	0
Ostrich Feathers	144	10	0
Buck or Goat-skins	1,532	12	0
Tallow	4,531	7	0
Butter	5,389	10	0
Soap	300	0	0
Salted Beef and Pork	3,087	10	0
Tanned Sole-leather	475	0	0
Total	£50,140	9	0

"A considerable portion of this produce has been shipped from Algoa Bay, or Port Elizabeth, direct to Europe; but the greater part was remitted to mercantile houses in Cape Town, in exchange for the manufactures of India and Europe, the demand for which is so considerable that the balance of trade is largely against the district.

"The public market at Graham's Town, which is held every day, excepting Sundays, exhibits a very lively and amusing scene. Here is to be met the farmer from the most distant extremities of the colony, with various curiosities for sale, such as skins of wild animals, ostrich feathers, and ivory, together with the rude but deadly weapons of the Boochuana and Bushmen. Here also is to be seen the enterprising settler just returned from a six months' tour in the interior, with his wagons laden with ivory, hides, and the rich fur-dresses, or cloaks, of the more distant tribes whom he has visited in the course of his peregrinations. By the market register it appears that between the 1st of October, 1830, and the 30th of September, 1831, one thousand five hundred and five wagons entered the market laden with produce; and that the following quantities of the several articles enumerated were there sold, at the annexed average and current prices, to the highest bidders:—

			l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brandy	153	Leaguers*	14	16	0
Wine	3	———	4	10	0
Vinegar	5	———	4	6	0
Meal	4,346	Muids†	1	1	0
Wheat	450	———	0	15	6
Barley	908	———	0	7	0
Oats	580	———	0	6	6
Maize or Indian Corn	75	———	0	0	8
Pease, Beans, & Lentils	24	———	0	11	3
Potatoes	75	———	0	7	6
Salt	796	———	0	4	6
Dried Fruits	14,774	Pounds‡	0	0	4

* One leaguer is equal to 152 old gallons, or 126.63 plus imperial.

† One muid of wheat or meal weighs, on an average, 180 pounds Dutch, being somewhat more than 196 pounds English. All other grain is lighter; hence a muid of barley is only about 100 pounds.

‡ The weights made use of in the colony are derived from the standard pound of Amsterdam: 100 pounds Dutch are equal to nearly 109 pounds English avoirdupois.

			l.	s.	d.
Almonds & Walnuts	128,500	per 100	0	0	5
Butter	92,636	Pounds	0	0	4
Cheese	2,400	———	0	0	3
Tallow	53,204	———	0	0	3
Soap	34,923	———	0	0	3½
Tobacco	16,888	———	0	0	5
Ivory	1,189	———	0	0	2
Bed Feathers	180	———	0	0	2½
Lion and Tiger Skins	25	each	0	7	6
Raw or Green Hides	2,871	———	0	10	0
Goat and Sheep-Skins (undressed)	6,888	———	0	0	10½
Horns	5,877	per 100	2	0	0
Oxen	240	each	1	4	0
Cows	139	———	0	19	0
Horses	22	———	2	10	0
Ducks and Fowls	868	———	0	0	10
Geese and Turkeys	52	———	0	6	0
Oat Hay	35,260	per 100	0	4	0"*

With a view to lessening the heavy expense and facilitating inland carriage, the introduction of camels into this part of Africa has been repeatedly proposed; and in the Graham's Town Journal of February last we have the following remarks upon the subject:—

"As the merchants and farmers are here linked together by the strongest of mundane ties, that of mutual self-interest; as their transactions are carried on principally by barter; and as their communications with the tribes in the interior form their most valuable branch of trade, the extent of which is increasing daily, transport and its improvement must naturally be a consideration of the greatest consequence. To those concerned (and I believe almost all are more or less so) in the last-mentioned branch of commerce, this subject is one of the utmost importance; as well as to all those who are in any way interested in an intercourse with those tribes, such as the missionary establishments, the settlers at Port Natal, and all those engaged in, or anxious for, researches in the interior of Africa,—more particularly as the scenes of their various operations are daily embracing a wider field: let them recollect, that *the camel's foot forms its own road;* and this one saying of the Arabians will at once display the incalcula-

* South African Almanac, 1832, p. 188, 189.

ble benefit they will derive from the possession of that animal, to traverse countries where other roads there are none. The camel affords the most simple as well as the safest and speediest mode of conveyance known; putting aside, of course, all the modern improvements of steam, &c., as not available here. The male carries from four to five hundred weight with ease, and the female from three to four hundred weight: this computation is at the lowest scale of their powers, but it is necessary to adhere to it in long journeys. The male is in full possession of his powers at five years old, and works well till twelve or fifteen years of age: the female is in full possession of her powers at four, and works (if she breeds) till ten years old; but if she is barren, she will endure even longer than the male. The camel requires but little care or attendance; is subject to fewer fatal diseases than any known animal, except perhaps the ass; is very tractable, sustains great privations, and is not incommoded by exposure to the weather. His food is extremely simple, and to be procured all over this part of the country; consisting of the leaves and young sprouts of trees and bushes, of which mimosa is his great favourite, and grass; and, even when kept up, it consists of the chaff which is here thrown away, and a few pounds daily of hulse or barley. He can travel with ease six hours out of the twenty-four, and his rate is from four and a half to five miles an hour. The apparatus for securing his load is of the cheapest kind; consisting of a simple pack-saddle, composed of a little coarse canvass and blanketing, stuffed with dry grass for a pad, and a few pieces of rough wood to form the trees and fastenings for the load, which may be cut, as they usually are, from a mimosa-bush: this, with a few fathoms of the coarsest rope, completes the apparatus that is absolutely requisite, though of course it may be made much neater and more expensive, if it be wished. The usual objection to the camel is, that he cannot safely pass over slippery paths, nor can he travel with safety on bare clayey soils after rain: but neither can an ox-wagon; so that, with regard to his worst quality, he is only on a par with that mode of conveyance: but what marks his pre-eminence, and his being so peculiarly adapted to the nature of this country, is that *he requires no road.*

"The inhabitants of Albany have manifested little

less anxiety to maintain their moral station in society than to advance their individual interests, or to preserve unimpaired, their joint political privileges. Hence, notwithstanding all those complicated difficulties which invariably attend the first settlers in a new country, no less than nine chapels,—seven Wesleyan, one Congregational, and one Baptist,—have been erected in different parts of the district by means of voluntary contributions. And our present one in Graham's Town, which was the first English place of worship ever raised in the eastern province, having become by far too small for the congregation, a new one was determined on, and commenced in February, 1831. Most of the chapels have connected with them Sunday-schools, affording to the rising generation, black as well as white, regular instruction in the rudiments of learning, and in the principles of Christianity.

"Government also has done much to foster and promote the progress of education, by the appointment of schoolmasters at different stations, with suitable allowances; providing eligible school-rooms, and furnishing them with the necessary materials for conducting the several schools on the Lancasterian system. These schools, though unquestionably productive of much good, are not so popular, nor so well suited to the circumstances of the people, as Sunday and evening schools, which have been established, and are supported, by private individuals. The children of the poorer inhabitants are compelled to tend cattle, or afford other assistance, from a very early age; and so indispensable are their services, that it is only on Sundays, or after the close of their daily labour, that they are disengaged, or that time can possibly be spared for the acquirement of more useful knowledge. The total number under instruction in the district cannot, at a moderate computation, be less than one thousand; which gives the unexampled ratio of rather more than one to every seven of the entire population.

"The progress made by many of the children at Sunday-schools is generally encouraging, and in some instances extraordinary. At the annual public examination of the scholars, such manifest indications of improvement are often exhibited, and such intellectual acuteness displayed, as afford the greatest encouragement to the patrons of the several institutions; and it

is almost impossible to form too high an estimate of the vast benefit which must be derived by the next generation from the diffusion, through so many different channels, of religious and other knowledge among the youth of this district. Several of the Sunday-schools have juvenile libraries, from which the more advanced scholars obtain the loan of various publications, not only of a moral and religious tendency, but also on general subjects.* The good effect of these institutions has been remarkable: many who were formerly scholars are now themselves gratuitous teachers; and numbers have become exemplary characters, merely in consequence of the instruction they received and the habits they imbibed while attending these schools."†

The largest and best-conducted seminary in the settlement is that of Mr. W. H. Matthews, of Salem, sixteen or eighteen miles from Graham's Town. This is decidedly superior to most others of its kind in the colony, and was formerly aided by an allowance of 22*l.* 10*s.* per annum from government; than which, no sum was ever better spent, or bestowed upon a more meritorious institution. No reason was ever assigned for the discontinuance of this small and well-earned stipend; but the bitter spirit and strong prejudices of certain individuals in power rendered the cause sufficiently plain.‡

* The author feels considerable pleasure in here acknowledging various small presents of school-books, sent out by individuals connected with the Society of Friends; and more especially one, consisting of fifty or sixty volumes, presented by Miss M. S——, of Clapham, near London. The rising generation being that on which our chief hopes of Africa at present rest, every thing of this kind is like "bread cast upon the waters, to be seen after many days." It is hoped, therefore, that others will be induced laudably to imitate the conduct of this excellent young lady, whose valuable donation, as seasonable as it was useful, has proved a most happy stimulus to many a little African.

† South African Almanac, 1831, p. 181.

‡ Methodism being the real object of their antipathy, strenuous efforts were made, about the same time, to deprive the inhabitants of Salem of the salary granted by the home government to their minister also: these, however, proved wholly unsuccessful. Some time previously, a serious infringement on our ministerial rights was likewise attempted, under the pretext that our baptizing the children of British colonists constituted an interference with the duties of the resident chaplain. It is scarcely necessary to state where this charge originated, as it will doubtless appear obvious to every one; and its object will not be at all less manifest from the annexed document. After two or three interviews with the colonial secretary, in the

Through such menials in "petty brief authority," the colonial government has often been led, unwittingly perhaps, to trample upon industrious and deserving men, and to lavish its favours upon some of the most worthless. Happy is he whose virtue and well-known worth, like those of the individual in question, render him independent of their smiles, and as heedless of their frowns. We fear not contradiction in affirming, that there is not a school in the whole province which is productive of more real good. Many whose prejudices once ran high, on account of the decidedly religious character of its excellent tutor, are now constrained to award to him the meed of praise which is so justly due; and his establishment, notwithstanding repeated enlargements, is kept constantly crowded with pupils. At the time of its anniversary, in the year 1830, there were, besides day-scholars, fifty-two boarders; among whom were eighteen sons and daughters of missionaries and

course of which he very politely informed me that our baptisms were altogether illegal, but that we were nevertheless at perfect liberty to baptize the children of blacks by the dozen, if we thought proper, as this could in nowise affect "the clergyman's surplice fees," I received from him the following communication ex-officio:—

"*Colonial Office, April 18th*, 1825.

"SIR,

His excellency the governor (Lord Charles Somerset), having taken into consideration the subject of the conversations I had the honour of holding with you, in Graham's Town, relative to the impropriety of the members of the Wesleyan mission interfering with the duties of the established clergyman, at that station; and his excellency being anxious to facilitate the wishes of the inhabitants, as far as may be consistent with what is due to the rights and privileges of the established Church of England, and of the chaplain appointed by government to perform the duties thereof in the district of Albany; I am directed to acquaint you, that he has been pleased to authorize you, and the other members of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in Albany, to baptize the children of such British parents, followers of your society, who may express their wish to have such rite performed by you, under the following regulations and restrictions:—

I. That the parties apply, in the first instance, to the resident government chaplain for his permission; which he will be authorized to grant at their request.

II. That the original certificates of all such baptisms be forwarded to the government chaplain; with the view to their being registered in the colonial registry, kept by him.

III. That no copy of such certificate of baptism shall be granted to the parties by the Wesleyan missionaries; but that they must apply to the government chaplain, who is alone authorized to give

other ministers, two sons of the late General C.; and several belonging to various other highly respectable families in the district. The order, general appearance, and manifest improvement of the children rendered the occasion one of more than ordinary interest. Several gave striking proof of very considerable ability, not only in reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar, but in their acquaintance with the rudiments of French and Latin, the use of the globes, and the art of drawing. Religious principles are here inculcated, and scriptural precepts enforced; nor has the seed been sown in vain; the fruits of early piety have already appeared in varied and pleasing forms.

While we were preparing for our return to England, measures were in progress for the establishment, in Graham's Town, of an infant school, on the plan so successfully adopted in various parts of our own country; and, from the following communication, transmitted by a much-esteemed friend, under date of March 19th, 1832, it will appear that this philanthropic project, together with several others, has been happily accomplished:—

"With regard to the improvements of this place

an authentic copy thereof; and to receive the usual fees on the occasion. Copies of these instructions will be forwarded to the landdrost (chief magistrate), and government chaplain in Albany.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) RICHARD PLASKET,
Secretary to Government."

"Rev. Mr. Kay,
Wesleyan Missionary.
Graham's Town."

Against these restrictions we immediately made a respectful but determined remonstrance, unitedly memoralizing his excellency upon the subject, and at the same time furnishing him with a copy of Sir John Nichol's judgment in the case of Kemp *versus* Wicks. But it was not until the whole affair had been laid before Earl Bathurst, then secretary of state for the Colonial Department, that we obtained redress. By him the governor was informed, that "every dissenting minister claims and exercises the right to baptize; that right having, by a decision of Sir John Nichol, been confirmed unto them;" and moreover, that "in cases where no clergyman of the Church of England was at hand, he (the secretary of state) saw no reason for precluding the Wesleyan missionaries from celebrating the marriage ceremony also." Thus was exploded the intolerant scheme of a lucre-loving and narrow-minded ecclesiastic; who, to his great mortification, was presented with a copy of his lordship's instructions at the same time we received ours. Hereby was set at rest, for ever, this question, at the Cape of Good Hope.

(Graham's Town) of late," says the respected writer, "they are almost unparalleled. First, an infant-school has been established; the progress of which is truly astonishing: the anniversary was held in our chapel, some months ago; and a more interesting sight I never witnessed. Secondly, a temperance society has been formed, consisting already of more than a thousand members.* And the good effects resulting from this also were wonderful. The moral conduct of the people, even the coloured population, is greatly altered for the better. Thirdly, a branch savings bank was opened some few months since; and although but of yesterday, its funds amount to about 200*l.* sterling, most of which belongs to the very lowest orders. On Saturday evening last, I was obliged to attend as one of the managers; and was surprised to see little children coming in with what they had contrived to save during the week, amounting to sixpences, threepences, and skillings. Several Hottentots, who had renounced the practice of *soopie* (dram) drinking, were likewise among the number. Fourthly, we have also a printing-press at work, and a weekly newspaper, styled the 'Graham's Town Journal;' which, although not on a very large scale as yet, is, nevertheless, increasingly interesting.

"ALEXANDER MACDONALD."

"We have the satisfaction," says the editor of the above-mentioned journal, "to lay before our readers the following communication from a correspondent, on the subject of the late gratifying examination of the Graham's Town infant-school; from which we perceive with great pleasure, that this highly useful and interesting institution is likely to receive from the inhabitants the encouragement and support it so well deserves:—

"On Monday, December 19th, 1831, the annual meeting of the Graham's Town infant-school society was held in the Wesleyan chapel, which had been conveniently fitted up for the occasion.

"Soon after eleven o'clock, the children, between sixty and seventy in number, were introduced; and, being arranged in due order on an elevated platform, in full view of the company assembled to witness the ex-

* "Within the boundaries of the united district of Albany and Somerset, there are already upwards of two thousand members of the temperance society."—*Graham's Town Journal, March*, 1832.

amination, they with great spirit and precision entered into the peculiar exercises of this highly interesting institution.

"*Extracts from the report of the committee.*

"It is with no ordinary degree of pleasure, and of thankfulness to Divine Providence for the success that has attended their labour, that the committee submit to the patrons of the Graham's Town infant-school a report of their proceedings during the last year.

"In the execution of the trust reposed in them, and pursuant to a recommendation of a general meeting of the subscribers, the committee completed on advantageous terms the purchase of suitable premises for a school-house, which they immediately repaired and fitted up for the purpose. During the year they have been enabled by the liberality of the public to discharge the first instalment of the purchase-money, amounting to 37*l.* 10*s.*, and likewise to clear off a debt of 41*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* sterling, for alterations indispensably necessary in adapting the building for the purpose of an infant-school. His excellency the governor was pleased to remit the transfer duty on the purchase, by which a saving was effected of sixty rix-dollars.

"Your committee have now to state, that, from the increase of the school, and the impossibility of accommodating the number of children who at present attend, it has become necessary that an addition should be made to these premises; and it having been ascertained that a suitable building may be erected for the sum of 140*l.*, it is not too much to expect, when the importance of the object is considered, that the liberality of the public will not permit the institution to languish for want of means to effect this very essential improvement.

"The committee have great satisfaction in stating, that, at the outset of the undertaking, much delay and expense were saved to the society by the benevolent kindness of Mrs. Atkinson.*

"The committee feel their inadequacy to do full justice to her important services, which were entirely gratuitous, or to convey to their constituents a correct idea of the admiration excited in all who witnessed her

* Mrs. A. is the wife of the Rev. Mr. Atkinson, of the London Missionary Society.

ardent zeal, and her unceasing exertions to further the objects of the society.

"An application was also directed to the secretary of the infant-school at Cape Town, for assistance in procuring lessons, materials, and books; which was cordially met by the society established there, furnishing a supply to the extent of 9*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*, which sum was immediately remitted.

"The committee have also gratefully to acknowledge the generous assistance afforded to this society by his excellency the governor, and other friends of the institution in Cape Town; who, at the solicitation of one of their members, who happened to be called thither on private affairs, readily contributed in aid of its funds.

"The progress made by the children has been fully equal to the expectations formed on this point at the commencement of the undertaking. Those who have had more frequent opportunities of visiting the school, have been highly gratified by the pleasing intelligence of many of the children; and it has been very generally remarked, that, where they have attended regularly, they are easily distinguished for superior intellectual acuteness and decorum of manners, from others who have been less attentive, or whose parents have not availed themselves of the benefits offered by this institution.

"It is yet too early to exhibit any permanent or individual examples; but, without being too sanguine, or calculating too much on prospective advantages, we may be certain, that to teach the young habits of cleanliness, punctuality, order, and subordination; to store the infant mind with useful and momentous truths, before it becomes vitiated by the contaminating influence of the world, must be attended with effects which will have a beneficial influence on their whole lives.

"Your committee may here be allowed to bear testimony to the valuable assistance given to the school by Master Buchanan, a youth who had been educated for a teacher of the system; whose services were kindly offered to the society, through the medium of the Hon. Commissioner-general, during the period occupied in making preparations for the commencement of a school at Balfour, the new settlement on the Kat River. To his assiduity the present efficiency of the school may be partly attributed. It may also be observed, that Mrs.

Prynn, the teacher, has devoted a portion of her time in instructing the elder girls in needle-work and other suitable employments; while her matronly attention to the younger children has ensured the confidence of the parents, and given much satisfaction.

"The committee have great satisfaction in stating that a measure has lately been adopted, which, under the Divine blessing, appears fraught with the most important advantages. They refer to the appointment of a committee of twenty-four ladies, who have kindly undertaken to act as inspectors of the school in weekly rotation."

As the influence of religion has diffused and extended itself throughout the settlement, a missionary spirit also has been gradually kindling among the people. Hence the Albany Missionary Society has now assumed a degree of importance far exceeding our most sanguine expectations; and the annual missionary meetings, held at Graham's Town in January or February, generally excite intense interest among all classes of the inhabitants. On the platform may be seen Kaffer chiefs, and ministers of all the various denominations around us,—Episcopalian, Independent, Baptist, and Presbyterian; which, of course, forms one of the most interesting features of the occasion. The amount of subscriptions and donations, inclusive of various small sums from the Caffrarian stations, transmitted to the parent society in London last year, was no less a sum than 365*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*!* But it is not by gold and silver only that this transplanted people are zealously assisting us in the grand work of evangelization: the great Head of the church is raising up, from among them, men also to proceed with the everlasting gospel in their hands, to the savage hordes of the interior. Two of the emigrants are now employed as missionaries; and seven or eight others as artisans or schoolmasters. Like the vine, therefore, the church is here sending forth her branches over the wall; and the wandering sons of Ham are sitting down under its shade, and partaking of its fruit. "The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for them; the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

* See Wesleyan Missionary Report, 1833, p. 115.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Kat River settlement—The missionary's grave—Affecting scene—Sikana's hymn—African traveller's soliloquy—Hottentot village—The Bushman—His habits—Armour—Barbarity—Indescribable delusion—A remarkable providence—Deliverance from a lion—Pleasing effects of religious knowledge—Balfour—Extermination of Mokomo's clan—Neutral territory—Infringement of native rights—Kaffer shot by an English trader—Inefficiency of colonial law—Existing oppressions on the northern frontier—Enslavement of seven children—Concluding appeal.

IMMEDIATELY adjoining Albany, to the north-west, lies the tract of country lately allotted to the scattered aborigines, within the colony. As this was actually occupied by the Kaffers up to a very recent period, it naturally falls within the range I, in the beginning, marked out to myself; and the circumstances of this newly-established settlement render all apology for particular notice of it unnecessary.

Several of the natives belonging to one of our stations having availed themselves of the overtures of government, and removed thither, I had occasion repeatedly to visit them, and to acquaint myself fully with their situation and prospects; and as some of the parties were composed of individuals who had enjoyed the benefit of Christian instruction on different mission stations, while the lives of others had been spent entirely with boors in the interior parts of the country, where labour, and not learning, had constituted their lot, the real capabilities of the native, together with the degree in which religious knowledge prepares him for usefulness, were here set forth in the fullest point of view. Surely no one, after visiting a settlement like this, would ever again talk of "first civilizing, and then evangelizing, the barbarian."

Having to pass through Beaufort, one of our principal frontier forts, to which the Kaffers from the neighbouring hamlets frequently resort, I stopped to preach there. Within a mile or two of this place lie the remains of the late Rev. Mr. Williams, of the London Missionary Society; who, after labouring hard in the vineyard of

his Lord for somewhat more than two years, died on the 23d of August, 1818. Having with me one of the Christian natives who had lived with him, witnessed his death, and assisted at his burial, I was enabled to collect various particulars respecting him, which, to my own mind at least, were deeply interesting.

No other missionary was engaged in Kafferland when this excellent man commenced his work; and the secluded corner which embraced his sphere of action is now no longer inhabited. His grave is distinguished from several others by a large pile of stones; one of which, larger than the rest, is placed in an upright position at the head, and forms his only tablet. This rude mark of distinction, though bearing no inscription, and therefore unintelligible to the passing traveller, was pointed out to me by the old Kaffer with manifest affection and considerable emotion. He then added, while directing my attention to other graves round about, "Here lies an *umfazi* (woman), who sat under his words; and there are some of the *amakwinkwe* (boys) whom he taught in the school." Not many paces distant was one which appeared to be comparatively new: "That said he, "contains the body of an *intombi* (young woman) who was killed by lightning from heaven, about two years ago."

From the burial-ground he led me to the tree under which Mr. W. usually preached to them; to the field he had ploughed, presenting furrows still visible; and to the garden he had cultivated; then to the dam he had formed for the irrigation of his grounds, and to the precipice whence he had rolled many a huge mass of rock with the view of turning the course of the river. This was quite an Herculean scheme; in prosecuting which, he lost one of his fingers: a large stone one day falling upon him, almost severed it from the hand. We next proceeded to the building designed for a place of worship, and also to the dwelling-house; both which were but partially completed. "In that corner," said Cota, "our *umfundis* expired; and here did I assist in making his coffin!"

An imaginary view of the circumstances composing the scene on that occasion, could not but deeply affect the mind of a fellow-missionary, while thus standing upon the spot where it transpired. As already intimated, this good man had no fellow-labourer, excepting

his pious wife, to aid him by counsel or to comfort him amid suffering. Anxious to finish the roof of his habitation, that his family might have a covert from the heat, he fearlessly exposed himself to the overpowering rays of a midday sun, until nature at length sunk beneath the burden. Surrounded by natives only, who fear even to touch the dead, his partner was therefore obliged to close the eyes of the corpse herself; to prepare it for interment; to give directions respecting the form, the making, and the dimensions of his coffin! This done, with an infant at her breast, and another by her side, she followed his earthly remains to the tomb. Her feelings were then, doubtless, unutterable: an attempt to describe them would therefore be folly. She returned to her half-thatched cottage, whither he accompanied her no more; to the place where prayer was wont to be made, but he is not there; and then to the couch whereon he lay; but, alas! he is gone, and gone for ever! Here, and thus situated, this good woman remained under the gracious protection of Him who is as a husband unto the widow, and a father to the fatherless, until a kind friend from the colony came to her relief. And it is worthy of remark, that, during this trying interval, the chief was induced to give special orders respecting her; so that, although encompassed by ruthless savages daily, no one was permitted to do her any harm!

The following piece of poetry, which is now known and frequently sung by the Kaffers in every place which the gospel has as yet reached, was composed by Sikana, a secondary chieftain, who was brought to a knowledge of the truth under Mr. W.'s ministry; and who, being faithful unto the end, died with the praises of God upon his lips. It may serve to convey some notion of the mellifluous flow of the Kaffer tongue, and of its oriental style of expression; but it is, of course, in a very different strain from their ordinary songs; which, when they have any meaning at all, are usually confined to the subjects of war or hunting.

Ulin guba, inkulu siambata tina,	He who is our mantle of comfort,
Ulodali bom' uadali pezula,	The giver of life, ancient on high,
Umdala uadala idala izula,	He the Creator of heaven is,
Yebinza inquinquis zixelela:	And of stars that ever burn:
Utixo umkula gozizulinè,	God is mighty in the heavens,
Yabinza inquinquis nozilimele,	Whirling stars around the sky,

Umze uakonana subiziêle,	On him, in his dwelling-place, we call,
Umkokeli ua sikokeli tina.	On him, who is our mighty leader.
Uenza infama zenza ga bomi.	He maketh now the blind to see.
Imali incula subiziêle ;	As the only good we adore him ;
Wena, wena g'aba inyaniza ;	For he alone is our sure defence,
Wena, wena kaka linyaniza,	He alone our trusty shield,
Wena, wena klati linyaniza ;	And He alone our bush of refuge ;
Ulodali bom' uadali pezula,	Yea, He, the giver of life on high,
Umdala uadala idala izula.	Who is alone the Creator of heaven.

My Kaffer friend now left me, and I proceeded, in company with a little Bushman, along the banks of the Kat River; the circuitous course of which obliged us to cross and recross its channel several times, and in one or two instances at considerable risk, the rocky bed being slippery as glass. After travelling for some time, I asked my guide how far we were from the location of the nearest party: "Not far," said he—"but you must go to ours first; *want wij zijn meer stom en onkundig dan de anders*—for we are more ignorant and stupid than the others." The reason he assigned for this difference was, that their neighbours had been in situations which afforded them much better opportunities for obtaining instruction than he or his comrades had ever enjoyed, having but just come down from the more inland and northern extremities of the colony. I therefore gave him liberty to take me wherever he pleased, on condition that he would ensure me a congregation as soon as we arrived. At this he smiled; and jocosely reminding me of our being entire strangers to each other, and of the very little confidence that was placed in his tribe, pointed to a dark and narrow opening in the hills, saying, "*Je hoeft niet bang te weze, daarin te gaan; Ik zal u beschermen*—You need not fear to go therein; I'll protect you."

Afar in the desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side.
When the wild turmoil of this wearisome life,
With its scenes of oppression, corruption, and strife ;
And the proud man's frown, and the base man's fear ;
And the scorner's laugh, and the sufferer's tear ;
And malice, and meanness, and falsehood, and folly,
Dispose me to musing and dark melancholy ;
When the bosom is full, and my thoughts are high,
And my soul is sick with the bondman's sigh ;—
O, then there is freedom, and joy and pride,
Afar in the desert alone to ride !

There is rapture to vault on the champing steed,
And to bound away with a herald's speed.

Afar in the desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side—
Away, away from the dwellings of men,
By the wild deer's haunt, and the buffalo's glen;
By valleys remote, where the oribi plays;
Where the gnoo, the gazelle, and the hartebeest graze;
And the gemsbok and eland unhunted recline
By the skirts of gray forests o'ergrown with wild vine;
And the elephant browses at peace in his wood;
And the river-horse gambols unscared in the flood;
And the mighty rhinoceros wallows at will
In the vley, where the wild ass is drinking his fill.

Afar in the desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side,
O'er the brown karroo, where the bleating cry
Of the spring-bok's fawn sounds plaintively;
Where the zebra wantonly tosses his mane,
In fields seldom freshen'd by moisture or rain;
And the fleet-footed ostrich over the waste
Speeds like a horseman who travels in haste;
And the vulture in circles wheels high overhead,
Greedy to scent and to gorge on the dead;
And the grisly wolf and the shrieking jackal
Howl for their prey at the evening fall;
And the fiend-like laugh of hyenas grim,
Fearfully startles the twilight dim.

Afar in the desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side—
Away, away in the wilderness vast,
Where the white man's foot before never pass'd,
And the restless Coranna or Bechuan
Hath rarely cross'd with his roving clan;
A region of emptiness, howling and drear,
Which man hath abandon'd through famine and fear;
Which the snake and the lizard inhabit alone,
And the bat flitting forth from his cleft in the stone;
Where grass, nor herb, nor shrub takes root,
Save poisonous thorns that pierce the foot;
And the bitter melon, for food and drink,
Is the pilgrim's fare by the salt lake's brink;
A region of drought, where no river glides,
Nor rippling brook with ozier'd sides.
No reedy pool, nor mossy fountain,
Nor rock, nor tree, nor misty mountain,
Are found, to refresh the wearied eye;
But the barren earth, and a burning sky,
And the blank horizon round and round,
Without a living sight or sound,
Tell to the heart, in its pensive mood,
That this at length—IS SOLITUDE!

And here, while the night-winds around me sigh,
And the stars burn bright in the midnight sky,
As I sit apart by the desert stone,
Like Elijah at Sinai's cave alone,
And feel as a moth in the Mighty Hand
That spread the heavens and heaved the land,
A "still small voice" comes through the wild
(Like a father consoling his fretful child),
Which banishes bitterness, wrath, and fear,
Saying, "MAN IS DISTANT, BUT GOD IS NEAR."*

PRINGLE.

Many minutes had not elapsed before we came up to a newly-established Hottentot village, near the confluence of the Mankazana and Kat Rivers. It consisted of thirty-one small wattled cottages, forming a complete circle, with cattle and sheep-folds in the centre. There were seven or eight wagons belonging to the hamlet, a considerable herd of cows and oxen, a fine flock of sheep, and several good horses. The object of my visit being announced, an old ploughshare was immediately hung up, and used as their substitute for a bell. Nearly one hundred and fifty persons, inclusive of children, were hereby called together in the course of a few seconds, and assembled beneath the spreading branches of a large tree. I had with me an English pocket Testament, from which my usual practice was to translate, into the vernacular tongue, as occasion might require; but wishing to ascertain whether any of them possessed a copy of the sacred Scriptures, I asked for a Bible; upon which an old man who formerly belonged to the Wittie River station, instantly produced a Dutch Testament. On my opening it, a small pamphlet fell out, which proved to be a copy of the ordinance issued by the lieutenant-governor, General Bourke, under date of July 17th, 1828, for the improvement of the condition of Hottentots and other aborigines of colour, and for the consolidation and amendment of laws affecting such persons, agreeably to the recommendation of his majesty's commissioners of inquiry.† This of course induced

* "Fear thou not, for I am with thee."

† The following constitute the second and third articles of this important ordinance, and embrace some of its principal provisions:—

"Article II. And whereas, by usage and custom of this colony Hottentots and other free persons of colour have been subjected to certain restraints as to their residence, mode of life, and employment,

me to ask why they had treasured up this document in the sacred volume: "Because," said one of the elders, "it is God's word that teaches us how to make a right use of our privileges; and therefore ought the Bible and the ordinance to be kept together."

Shortly after the conclusion of divine service several other Bushmen made their appearance, whose garb and manners furnished indubitable evidence of their having but just emerged from the gloomy recesses of the forest, or the still more dismal chambers of the cavern. The real condition, civil as well as moral, of this troglodytish race is truly deplorable. We cannot contemplate their circumstances, or even look upon their withered countenances, without inexpressible pain of heart. Hunted for generations back, like partridges upon the mountains, they have become desperate; their hand is uplifted against every one, and every one's hand against them. Robbed of their country, and driven beyond the ordinary range of men, they have been compelled to seek refuge and dwelling-places in the glens of the desert, the thickets of the jungle, or the clefts of the precipice. There it is that we must in general look for them, on the points of projecting crags, or upon the summits of the highest rocks, watchfully surveying all beneath. With eagle-eyed fierceness, with bows fully bent, darts deeply

and to certain compulsory services, to which other of his majesty's subjects are not liable: Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this ordinance, no Hottentot, or other free person of colour, lawfully residing in this colony, shall be subject to any compulsory service to which others of his majesty's subjects therein are not liable; nor to any hinderance, molestation, fine, imprisonment, or punishment of any kind whatsoever, under the pretence that such person has been guilty of vagrancy, or any other offence, unless after trial in due course of law; any custom or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

"Article III. And whereas doubts have arisen as to the competency of Hottentots and other free persons of colour to purchase or possess land in this colony: Be it therefore enacted and declared, that all grants, purchases, and transfers of land, or other property whatsoever heretofore made to or by any Hottentot, or other free person of colour, are and shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be, of full force and effect; and that it is, and shall and may be, lawful for any Hottentot, or other free person of colour, born, or having obtained deeds of burghership in this colony, to obtain and possess by grant, purchase, or other lawful means, any land or property therein,—any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

poisoned, and an air that betrays less fear than hostility, they stand ever prepared to take fatal aim at all who may have temerity enough to approach their rampart. The following strikingly descriptive lines on the Kaffer, by Mr. Thomas Pringle, apply in a great measure to the Bushman also:—

"Lo! there he crouches by the kloof's dark side,
Eying the farmer's lowing herds afar;
Impatient watching till the evening-star
Lead forth the twilight dim, that he may glide,
Like panther, to the prey. With free-born pride
He scorns the herdsman, nor regards the scar
Of recent wound; but burnishes for war
His assagai, and targe of buffalo-hide.
Is he a robber?—True, it is a strife
Between the black-skinn'd bandit and the white.
A savage?—Yes; though slow to aim at life,
Evil for evil fierce he doth requite.
A heathen?—Teach him, then, thy better creed,
Christian! if thou deserv'st that name indeed."

As an enemy, they are much more formidable than the Kaffer; not indeed on account of their numbers nor of muscular strength; for in both these respects they are far inferior to any of the other tribes. But, besides their weapons being of a much more deadly kind, their mode of warfare is such as to place an antagonist in the most perilous situation ere he is at all aware of danger. So exceedingly diminutive are they in person, that they easily manage to conceal themselves behind large stones or ant-heaps; whence they are able at pleasure to lodge a dart in the vitals of their victim. When thus lying in ambush, this Lilliputian archer seats himself upon the ground, places his foot against the bow, directs his arrow with his left hand, and then draws it with his right. And such is the force with which he discharges the dart, that it not only pierces the person or animal at which it is shot, but sometimes goes completely through them.

A minute description of their armour (a quantity of which the author has still in his possession) may serve to show how studiously the work of death is attended to by fallen man in his native haunts, where the devices and desires of the heart appear in their true character, perfectly free from all check or restraint. "The bow," as observed by Barrow, "is a plain piece of wood from

the *guerrie bosch*, which is apparently a species of *rhus*; and sometimes the assagai-wood is used for the same purpose. The string, three feet long, is composed of fibres of the spring-buck's dorsal muscle, twisted into a cord. The stem of an aloe constitutes the quiver. The arrow, which when complete does not measure two feet, consists of a small reed; in one extremity of which is inserted a piece of solid bone; this is sometimes taken from the ostrich's leg, when that bird can be obtained; it is round, finely wrought, and polished; and in length varies from two to five inches. The intent of it seems to be that of giving weight and strength to that part of the arrow, and to facilitate its entrance. To the end of the bone is affixed a small sharp piece of iron of the form of an equilateral triangle; and the same string of sinews which binds this tight to the bone serves also to contain poison between the threads and upon its surface. This deleterious matter is applied in the consistence of wax or varnish. The string likewise fastens a piece of sharp quill pointed towards the opposite end of the dart, which is not only designed to increase the difficulty of drawing it out, but also to rankle and tear the flesh, and to bring the poison into contact with the blood." The little fellows unhesitatingly informed me of several plants from which they are in the habit of extracting poisons, by simply macerating the leaves or branches and inspissating the juices, either by boiling or by exposure to the heat of the sun. But the venom taken from the heads of snakes, mixed with the juices of certain bulbous plants, is what they mostly depend upon.*

* I one day met with an old Dutch farmer, who had been shot by one of the Bushmen, and in whose person the barb of the arrow still remained. On receiving the wound, he instantly applied the remedy now in general use; which, as I am credibly informed, was first made known to the colonists by an aged Bushman (whose materia medica is of course derived from nature only) whom one of them succeeded in domesticating and attaching to his service. This consists simply of a certain root which is found growing spontaneously in many parts of the country; and which, from its effectual counteraction of the deadly bite of serpents, has everywhere obtained the name of *slang wortel* (snake-root). It is used in exactly the same way as the rattlesnake root of America; for the discovery of which, the whites in that quarter also are said to be wholly indebted to the oppressed and untutored Indian. After chewing a piece of it, the patient swallows the spittle, and then applies the wood, thus bruised and moistened in his mouth, to the parts affected. Numbers of the oldest inhab-

With the instruments of destruction, therefore, they are perfectly familiar; nor are their wretched offspring less so. These, like their sires, are well acquainted with every species of barbarity, being carefully trained to them, from their very infancy. In August, 1827, a Hottentot female, who had been tending her master's flock, was seized, within a few miles of the station I then occupied, by a wandering party of these desperadoes, who murdered and mangled her in a most horrid manner. Life was gone before her situation was discovered; and her bowels were found hanging on a bush near the corpse. Shortly afterward an English farmers' servant was attacked near the same place; but she providentially escaped with life, though not without several severe and dangerous wounds, some of which were inflicted by a son of one of the savages. With the view of trying the lad's expertness in archery, his father set him to shoot at their defenceless victim, saying, "Now let us see if you can kill her on the spot!" Such are the lessons taught in the Bushman's school. Happily, ere the child had cast the fatal weapon, the band were disturbed, and obliged to take flight.

After spending the greater part of the evening in conversation with the people, I retired into an old wagon, where a straw mat (the best bed they could afford) had been spread for my accommodation. But when lying down my attention was arrested by a singular noise that appeared to come from one of the more distant huts. Curiosity induced me to rise and follow the sound, rendered doubly dolorous by the extreme darkness of the night, and the occasional howlings of the wolf. It at length led me to a low wretched hovel, the interior of which presented one of the most melancholy scenes I ever witnessed; language indeed fails to give any thing like a complete idea of the strong delusion which pervaded the minds of its inmates.

Some of the little strangers above mentioned having professed an acquaintance with the nature and causes of disease, and likewise with the means of removing it, two or three sick Hottentots had solicited their aid. They

itants, with whom I have repeatedly conversed upon the subject, unanimously acknowledge the efficacy of this valuable antidote in all cases of poison, whether from the viper's bite or the Bushman's dart. And hence they seldom or never proceed on a journey without taking a quantity of it in their pockets.

first assembled at the dwelling of the afflicted persons, and performed over them a number of ludicrous antics preparatory to the "great ceremony." One stood muttering in a corner; and another sat perched upon poles placed in a horizontal position; while two others bounded about on the floor with slow but regular step. All were apparently weeping in a most heart-rending manner, and thus signifying to the patients that the disease was of a very dangerous character. This they continued until their feelings seemed to be wrought up to the highest pitch, rendering them like unto men wholly intoxicated. One of them fell to the ground with such violence as very seriously to bruise his head and produce temporary insensibility. I at first concluded that they had been using some kind of narcotic; but was in this mistaken. When opportunity presented itself, I remonstrated with them respecting the folly of such a mode of proceeding; and the consequence was, a momentary cessation. But being bent upon what they deemed a duty, their operations were soon recommenced.

On going to the hut a second time I found it crowded to excess. A large fire was burning in the centre: four Bushmen and two women belonging to the same tribe were dancing, singing, clapping their hands, and occasionally shouting in the wildest manner imaginable. With the intention of detecting, the better to expose the fallacy of their arts, I placed myself in a corner which commanded a full view of all their manœuvres. The appearance of the men was as ugly and demon-like as can be conceived. One had tufts of hair attached to his head in the form of horns; another, who was almost naked, had an appendage to his back resembling a wild beast's tail; a third bore in his hand an arundinaceous kind of wand, with which he occasionally touched different parts of the patient's body, and through which he at other times puffed and blew upon those around him; and a fourth, with a small calabash, or gourd, full of pebbles, in each hand, kept up a tremendous and deafening rattle. The scene was occasionally terrific beyond description, as one and then another of the little conjurors became completely frantic, and assumed all the appearance of maniacs. They kicked the fire about with their feet; sighed, groaned, and yelled most hideously. Symptoms of stupor, or insensibility, were regarded as proofs that

the evil influence under which the patients had been suffering was leaving them, and entering the individual affected. His magical powers were consequently deemed far superior to those of his fellows, who, nevertheless, flew to his relief, and by means of the wand, and certain strange efforts, affected to deliver, and restore him to his senses again. Sometimes, after shaking and otherwise roughly handling, blowing upon, or applying the mouth to some particular part of the body, the sorcerers would gravely turn round and exhibit a quantity of goats' hair, a few birds' feathers, a piece of thong, or a number of straws, saying they had extracted them from the head, the stomach, the legs, or the arms of the patient. Palpable as were these absurdities, they nevertheless instantly obtained full credence among the spectators, who with uplifted hands would exclaim, "No wonder that A. or B. were so ill!"

I went to the poor deluded creatures the following morning, and endeavoured to make them sensible of the vanity and wickedness of their tricks, challenged them with the various falsehoods they had told: and in proof of the inefficacy of all their exertions, pointed to the sick persons themselves, who, from having been kept sitting before a large fire, during the greater part of the night, and consequently from taking proper rest, were even worse than before. They answered me not a word, but afterward acknowledged the truth of all that had been said; and the only plea they attempted to set up in justification of their system was, as usual, "that such had been the custom of their forefathers from time immemorial." How melancholy the reflection! From time immemorial, millions have thus made lies their only refuge in times of trouble! from time immemorial, whole nations of men have thus been sinking in the vortex of delusion! Yea, from time immemorial, one generation of immortal beings has been thus blindly following another, and all literally "perishing for lack of knowledge!" Who does not hear, in these chilling facts, the dying moans of thousands more, whom the stream is even now rapidly bearing down to the eternal gulf, and whose ignorance and wretchedness loudly cry, "Come over and help us; come over and help us!"

Leaving Mankazana, I proceeded to Tambookie Vlei, and there found another of the parties industriously employed in building, pastoral pursuits, and cultivation.

On hearing what the object of my visit was, one of the people heartily welcomed me, saying, *Kom binnen, kom binnen, mynheer*,—"Come in, come in, sir;" and showed me no small kindness, immediately "kindling a fire because of the cold and because of the rain," which had poured heavily upon us during the greater part of the journey. Being weary and sleepy, my host spread a few skins for me to rest upon in the best corner of his newly-erected dwelling; the floor of which, being but just laid, was exceedingly damp; consequently the following morning brought with it a severe cold, and violent pains in my head.

After preaching, I went out to see their different gardens and corn-lands; from which it was quite evident that they were far in advance of those whom I had left. Their situation, however, was much more advantageous, the soil being of a superior description, and more likely to prove productive than that upon which their neighbours were placed. In several places enclosures had been made, and both wheat and barley sown, as had peas and potatoes also in considerable quantities. The greater part of this division formerly resided near Bavian's River, and among the Scotch emigrants, who had often employed them in various ways, and afforded them much useful instruction. Several were able to read the Scriptures, and one or two could write likewise. Their stock of sheep and cattle was very considerable; and little doubt can be entertained of their ultimate prosperity. There were few among them but what had entirely cast off the sheep-skin garb of the Hottentot; and at divine service the greater part of them, male as well as female, were decently and respectably clad in European apparel. Several couples that had long lived together as man and wife, according to general custom, expressed an earnest desire to have their matrimonial union honourably and legally solemnized: there did not appear to be more than one or two instances of polygamy in the whole hamlet.

In one of the huts at this place I found a sick man, who had been most miraculously delivered from the jaws of a lion, two or three weeks prior to my visit. While sitting by his side he furnished me with the following particulars; which, as they constitute a striking illustration of that gracious Providence whose tender mercy is over the children of men, are well worthy of

being recorded. Accompanied by several other individuals, he one morning went out on a hunting excursion; and on coming to an extensive plain beyond the precincts of the colony, where there was abundance of game, they discovered a number of lions, which were disturbed by their approach. One of the males instantly separated himself from the troop, and began slowly to advance towards the party, most of whom were young, and altogether unaccustomed to rencounters of so formidable a nature. While droves of timid antelopes only came in their way, they were all brave fellows, and boasted loudly of their courage; but this completely failed, and the young Nimrods began to quake when the monarch of the desert appeared.

Nevertheless, while the animal was yet at a distance, they all dismounted; and, according to general custom on such occasions, began tying their horses together, with the view of keeping them between themselves and the beast, until they could take deliberate aim at him. His movements, however, were too quick; and before the horses were properly fastened, the lion made a tremendous bound or two, which suddenly brought him down upon the hind parts of one of them: being hereby startled, they instantly plunged forward, and knocked down the poor man in question; over him went the horses; and off ran his comrades with all speed. He arose from the ground as quickly as possible; but, on perceiving him stand up, the animal turned round, and, with a seeming consciousness of his superior might, stretched forth his paw, and by a single stroke on the back part of the neck laid him prostrate again. He had but just time to roll on to his back before it set its foot upon his breast, and lay regularly down at full length upon him.

He now became almost breathless, partly from fear, but principally from the intolerable pressure of his terrific load. In order to get breath he endeavoured to move himself a little, upon which the lion instantly laid hold of his left arm, just below the elbow, and bit it in several different places down to the hand; in the thick part of which its teeth seemed to have completely met. All this time, however, it does not appear to have been at all furious, but merely caught at his prey, as the cat would sport with a mouse that is not quite dead. In this dreadful situation he remained for a considerable

length of time writhing in pain, gasping for breath, and momentarily expecting to be torn limb from limb! On raising his head a little, the creature opened his mouth to receive it, but providentially lost his hold, in consequence of the hat (which was shown to me) slipping off; the points of the teeth, therefore, only just scarified the pericranium. Thus narrowly was he prevented from crushing the head to pieces. He then placed his paw upon the arm from which the blood was copiously flowing, and the purple stream soon covered it. This he again and again licked clean; and then fixing his flaming eye intently upon that of the man, now smelt on one side of his face, and then on the other, and appeared to be only awaiting the inducement of voracity wholly to devour his helpless prey!

"At this critical moment," said the poor fellow, "I recollected having somewhere heard that there was a God on high, who was able to deliver, at the very last extremity; I therefore began to pray that he would prevent the lion from eating my flesh and drinking my blood." While engaged in this act of devotion, the beast turned completely round, placing its head towards his feet, and its tail over his face. This induced hope in the mind of the sufferer, that he might now possibly rid himself of his load; and under this impression he made an effort, which was no sooner discovered than checked by a terrible bite in the right thigh. He again lifted up his voice to the Almighty for help; nor did he pray in vain. The lion, without being disturbed in any way whatever, soon afterward relinquished his hold. Calmly rising from his seat, he deliberately walked off to the distance of thirty or forty paces, and there lay down in the grass, whence, after watching the movements of the Hottentots for some minutes, he finally took his departure, and was seen no more. The man now arose, and, crawling off in the best manner he was able, at length obtained the aid of his cowardly companions, who set him upon one of the horses, and brought him to the place where I found him. Dr. G. (son of the Rev. John Gaulter), a military surgeon, at one of the neighbouring stations, hearing of the case, hastened to his relief, and very humanely rendered him all needful assistance. On first seeing him, amputation of the arm was thought to be absolutely necessary, but to this the patient would not submit; "for," said he,

"as the Almighty had delivered me from a death so dreadful, I thought he was surely able to save my arm also!" At the time of my visit some of his wounds were already healed, and there was every prospect of a complete restoration. "O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!"

In a fine valley on the left of the river a few miles farther up, I found a still larger company, composed principally of persons from Bethelsdorp. A considerable number of them having been taught and trained up in that institution (belonging to the London Missionary Society) were able both to read and write, and were actively engaged in promoting the best interests of the rising generation among them. The establishment of a school had constituted a matter of paramount importance in their new situation. As they had but recently arrived on the spot, comparatively little had been done, besides the erection of a few temporary houses: the smith, however, was preparing his forge; and the plough had already been at work. Several large plots of ground had been turned up, in which various kinds of seed, supplied by his excellency the governor, Sir Lowry Cole, had been sown.

The following Sabbath I preached at Balfour, at which place all the different parties assembled together. A more interesting sight I scarcely ever witnessed. Four-fifths of the congregation were remarkably clean, and decently dressed; and every one evinced a seriousness and decorum which rendered the services at once solemn and delightful. Two things may, I think, be confidently affirmed concerning this settlement, without fear of contradiction: 1. That those parts of it wherein religious truths are most influential exhibit by far the largest share of industry, and the best prospects of ultimate prosperity; and, 2. That the most intelligent, useful, and promising part of its inhabitants are those that have migrated from the different mission stations. Hence from this class has been selected the veld-cornets, or overseers and constables, &c., on most of the different locations, and along with these likewise the settlement has obtained the principal of its stock of cattle, sheep, and horses, together with the chief of its agricultural implements, ploughs, spades, and hoes, &c. From one station alone went forth no less than eigh-

teen ploughs, nineteen or twenty wagons, and several hundred head of horned cattle, which the people by industry and economy had acquired on that station.

Before Mokomo's clan was driven back, Balfour (originally established by the Glasgow missionaries) constituted a station of very considerable promise: it was now, however, allotted by government to a number of families from Theopolis. Among these there were some truly valuable men; men whose conduct did credit to those by whom they had been instructed. They had no sooner arrived at their destination than all united in a work of public and great utility. Conceiving it possible to lead out from the river hard by a stream sufficient to water the lands below, every pick-axe and spade they possessed were forthwith put in requisition, and all hands employed in digging a conduit for the purpose. This was speedily completed; and the last time I visited them, they were hereby enabled to irrigate their fields and gardens at pleasure. The expressions of Moses relative to Egypt, "Where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot as a garden of herbs," were here practically illustrated. Various kinds of beans, pease, and melons, together with potatoes and other vegetables, were planted in rows or drills; and the season being dry, the husbandman, having the stream at his command, conducted it from drill to drill, stopping its course by turning the earth against it with his foot, at the same time opening with his spade, or hoe, a new trench to receive it. This mode of watering by conveying a little rill to the roots of the different plants is very generally practised in Southern Africa, and, as a celebrated writer has justly observed, "affords one proof among many in which the unchanging character of Eastern customs increases our respect for the accuracy of the sacred Scriptures. When the trivial circumstances which they mention incidentally are found to be thus scrupulously correct, great additional weight is given to their testimony in matters of importance."

A gentle ride from hence, of about an hour and a half, brought us to the location of Captain Boezak and his party. This old native* was recognised by the colonial government as a chief, many years ago, and, by the

* Now dead.

very efficient aid which he rendered in repelling the Kaffer tribes when they made their last combined attack upon the colony, obtained great celebrity. His distinction was marked by a fine silver-headed baton, or marshal's staff, with which the governor presented him, and of which he was not a little proud. Sir Lowry Cole being then at one of the forts in the neighbourhood, and on a tour of observation along the line of frontier, the aged man had this sign of office at his elbow, and was preparing on my arrival, with several of his men, to meet his excellency. He welcomed me very heartily, and entreated, when about commencing divine service, that I would implore the blessing of Almighty God upon all their affairs, and pray that the heart of the governor especially might be disposed to afford them the means of a gospel ministry, together with schools for their children; "or," said he, "we shall again slide back into our old heathenish customs, and our children will become as bad as the Kaffers themselves."

An intelligent correspondent, who has been nearly ten years resident in the colony, and who has himself visited this settlement, gives us the following particulars respecting it, under date of,

"*Cape of Good Hope, Oct.* 11*th*, 1832.

"You know the Kat River, and its wild glen, bounded on all sides by savage mountains, except where it opens upon the colony towards the south. The Kaffers were expelled from it in 1828; as they had been driven from Albany in 1816 and the following years, to make room for the English. This valley has been granted to the Hottentots, who have now occupied it for about four years. Their numbers in the settlement are about five thousand. They came from different parts of this immense colony. No assistance was promised or given to them, except firearms for self-defence; no preparations were made for their reception; no rations, no implements, no money. The boors showed no kindness to them. But to these negations I have to add, that there have been no strifes, divisions, or discontents among them; no peculiar sufferings. No case of crime has come from the Kat River before the Circuit Court. Their success has been equal to their industry and good conduct, and neither has ever been surpassed. By patient and judicious labour, with manly moderation

and Christian temperance, they have converted the desert into a fruitful field.*

"The Hottentot, now standing erect on his new territory, restored to the level of humanity, with a heart softened and enlarged, no longer shows himself the timid wretch that he was, submitting to violence, and yielding to the injustice of the proud, with apparent insensibility. Some time ago, the frontier boors were assembled by their field-cornets in arms, for the purpose, as government was informed, of attacking and destroying this settlement. By the activity of Colonel Somerset they were arrested in their march, and the calumnies invented against the Hottentots, to give a colour to their designs, fully exposed.† I had felt deep

* "Hitherto great activity has been displayed, and the incipient marks of civilization are observable in every direction." "During the last season, 1831, were produced on the settlement 450 muids of wheat, 1500 muids of barley, and 400 muids of Indian corn, besides large quantities of Kaffer corn, potatoes, pumpkins, sweet cane, and many other provisions. Independently of the labour required in the cultivation of the soil, instances of uncommon exertion are manifested in the construction of canals which convey water to irrigate their fields and gardens. In some places these have been carried through the solid rock; in others it has been necessary to cut to the depth of twelve feet to preserve the level; while their entire length throughout all the locations is upwards of 20,000 yards."—*Graham's Town Journal, June*, 1832.

† The overt facts of this conspiracy were briefly these. About the close of 1831, rumours were industriously circulated, by persons unknown, among the Dutch African boors of the eastern frontier, to the effect that the Hottentots of Kat River were preparing to attack them on New-year's day. The boors promptly assembled in arms under their veld-cornets; and these local functionaries, instead of communicating the information to the government, immediately led their rude militia to attack the Hottentots. Fortunately the frontier commandant, Colonel Somerset, got information of their designs, and marched with rapidity to Kat River. He reached the settlement before them, on New-year's day. It was Sunday; and he found the Hottentots quietly congregated, unarmed, in their different places of worship. In one place there was a congregation of about five hundred souls, one hundred and nine of whom had just taken the sacrament. He informed the people of the rumours that had been spread against them; assured them of his perfect conviction of their entire innocence; and taking with him three of their veld-cornets, Groepe, Valentyn, and Stoffels (religious and quiet men, all well-known to the author), he rode to meet the troop of colonial militia, who had by this time approached within view of the settlement. By energetic remonstrances and threats he prevailed on these violent and vindictive men to return quietly to their homes; and on the 11th of January, 1832, a strong

anxiety on this subject, knowing that, should these two parties ever come into hostile collision, the whole blame and all the evil consequences would fall on the long-devoted heads of the weaker party. But a friend of ours, who returned last week from the Kat River, has effectually dispelled my apprehensions. Speaking to one of these Hottentots, a shrewd intelligent man, he asked him of their late escape from the boors. The man laughed, and said, 'Had the civil authorities applied to us instead of Colonel Somerset, we would soon have relieved the government from all anxiety for our safety. We muster, for any service in defence of the colony, seven hundred able-bodied young men, with guns. Show us the enemy, and cry *tza!*' (*Tza* is the cry used to encourage a dog to attack.) This closes the argument. I consider the experiment complete; and nothing short of extreme mismanagement on the part of government can prevent those people from becoming the best bulwark of the frontier, loyal subjects, and a happy people.

"I cannot help adding that in this colony of five thousand souls there is no magistrate, lawyer, attorney, doctor, quack, or apothecary; and the opinion is that the longer the appearance of such personages is delayed the better. They have two missionaries, whose chapels are always well filled, and several schools crowded with orderly and acute children.* They are all, or nearly all, members of a Temperance Society. One unfortu-

proclamation was issued by the governor, reprehending in the severest terms the mischievous and irrational conduct of the colonists and their local officers. Had Colonel Somerset acted with less promptitude and energy, this Hottentot settlement would, in all human probability, have been deluged with innocent blood, and a bitter feud begun between the white and coloured classes, which might have lasted for generations.—See *Cape Gazette for January 11th*, 1832.

* "Their loyalty and attachment to the British government are beyond suspicion; and it may not be uninteresting to state, that at the last receipt of taxes, they contributed to the revenue a sum of twenty-three thousand rix-dollars. All the ordinances of religion are punctually attended to by them, while in their families, and in the more public transactions of life, they evince an extensive practical acquaintance with the requirements of Christianity. Education is in great repute, and a manifest desire to give their children the benefit of instruction is a feeling everywhere observable. Two infant-schools have been established, and are well attended."—*Graham's Town Journal, June*, 1832.

nate woman, a daughter of Boesak, being an incorrigible drunkard, was shunned by the whole population, and withdrew out of mere shame from the settlement."*

After I had preached to his people, the old chief very kindly lent me other horses; and provided me with a guide likewise. Our path lay across the mountains, and was in some places extremely difficult; besides which, the heat of the day was exceedingly oppressive. Nevertheless, the guide, being anxious to get home again, led us on with all the restlessness of an Arab. Our poor steeds, completely bathed in sweat, were unmercifully kept on full gallop, both up hill and down, the greater part of the journey. All my remonstrances with the fellow were turned into jest, until one of them sickened and lay down in the road, which rendered him somewhat more considerate. The hardiness of our little African horses has often surprised me; and their endurance of fatigue is truly astonishing, seeing they seldom get any thing but grass when travelling, and frequently very little of that.

While passing from one part of this infant settlement to another, the subjects which occupied my thoughts were almost as various as the objects that arrested our attention, affording both pleasure and pain. Amid the picturesque scenery which nature here and there presented to view were manifest traces of the war that had just before been waged with the old occupants. The sites of numerous cattle-folds, and the white ashes of many a Kaffer dwelling, still affectingly marked both hill and dale. This being regarded by the colonial government as a part of the neutral territory, and Mokomo with his people having been unwilling to quit it, compulsory measures were resorted to, and a number of troops sent against them. These, in clearing the country, deemed it requisite to set fire to the huts; which "strange work" seems to have been commenced on a Sabbath-day! One of the Christian Kaffers hereupon ex-

* The prevailing vice of the Hottentots in a servile condition was drunkenness; but these African land-holders, it appears, have already extirpated this vice from their settlement. They have not only eagerly promoted the establishment of a Temperance Society, but actually petitioned the governor not to permit any one to hold lands, or reside in their district, who should, in opposition to the wishes of the community, venture to open a canteen for the sale of spirituous liquors.

claimed, with no small degree of surprise, "Is this thing good, burning houses down on God's day!" "Bless my soul," cried one of the (English!) officers, "I'd forgotten that it was Sunday!"

That the benevolent measures of government relative to one class of aborigines should thus have involved others of a far different character, cannot but be regarded as cause of deepest regret; especially when it is recollected that the territory in question is not ours in equity, and that our right to dispose of it is therefore matter of very grave dispute. Much has already been said upon this subject; but it still remains unsettled: and as its final arrangement, one way or other, constitutes a point of paramount importance, an observation or two respecting it may not be here deemed irrelevant.

It is well known, that, until October, 1819, the Great Fish River formed our eastern boundary. His excellency the governor, however (Lord C. Somerset), with the view, as it would appear, of keeping the Kaffers at a respectful distance from the colony, and of preventing their making a covert of the forests along the banks of that river, then arranged with Gaika for the retirement of all the bordering clans to the eastern side of the Keiskamma. Thus was vacated a fine tract of country, to which the natives were particularly attached, on account of its superior grazing land; and from which the great mass therefore retired with extreme reluctance and murmuring. It forms a sort of parallelogram, "embracing upwards of eighteen hundred square miles."* It has sometimes been designated "neutral," at other times "ceded territory;" and by the acting governor (Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin), "newly acquired territory," which in one of his proclamations of 1820 was actually annexed to Albany.

No compensation or equivalent was ever given for this land: Gaika again and again denied his having ever assumed the power of alienating it; and certain it is, that the other chiefs, who had quite as much right in it as Gaika could have, were never made parties to any treaty upon the subject. Consequently, their expulsion was any thing but either fair or just. That Lord C. Somerset did not regard this tract as a cession to us in absolute property, but as strictly neutral ground (the

* South African Almanac, 1832, p. 191.

policy of which was always problematical), is sufficiently evident from his own measures subsequently to his resumption of the government in 1821. He then recalled a number of English settlers, half-pay officers and others, to whom the acting governor had allotted certain portions of land on the eastern bank of the Fish River; and by public proclamation re-established that river as a boundary against the colonists. His majesty's commissioners of inquiry also inform us, "that the occupation of this land was regarded by his excellency as a departure from the policy that had induced him to interpose a neutral space between the colonists and the Kaffers."* Nevertheless, his lordship soon afterward appropriated part of this very ground himself; and in a manner too that was directly opposed to Gaika's acknowledged stipulations,—granting it to certain Dutch boors, who obtained extensive farms on the eastern bank of the above-mentioned river, but at the inland extremity of the vacant tract, where it joins the Somerset district.†

Soon after the establishment of Wesleyville, Kongo requested leave to return to that part of the country whence he and his clan were driven; and government hereupon gave him liberty to pasture his herds along the coast from the Keiskamma to the Beeka; where the people under his command, having conducted themselves in the most peaceful manner, have been suffered to remain ever since. His brother Kama likewise, some time ago, obtained permission to bring his clan on to a vacant plot lying between the Beeka and the Fish River close to the sea; and some others of the natives have for some time past been enjoying similar privileges. But the precarious tenure upon which these privileges are held renders them an evil rather than otherwise; for, like Mokomo, they are all liable to be again driven back at the shortest notice, whenever any new scheme of government or alleged misdemeanour may render it "expedient." The baneful consequences with which such a system is pregnant must be obvious to every one; and it is impossible too strongly to deprecate them, seeing that they greatly impede the work of civilization. Every one knows that the circumstances of the coun-

* Commissioners' Report of December 4th, 1825.

† See Oriental Herald, 1826, p. 605; and 1827, p. 13.

try, together with the pastoral habits of the aborigines, are such as to render it necessary for every man to be where his herds are; so that in allowing them to graze their cattle on the neutral ground, we in fact settle them. They of course erect their dwellings there, their families are removed thither; their little gardens also are there cultivated; and, in short, before they have been on the spot a couple of months their establishment is complete. To remove one of these clans, therefore, after thus reinstating them on ground which they still consider their own, cannot but prove an occasion of continued hostility.

Thus much then for the neutral territory's being no longer neutral.

We have assumed a power over it to which, in common justice, we had never any right; in the very acquisition of it, we have availed ourselves of a treaty which ever rested on grounds the most doubtful, but which has, nevertheless, been made to serve the project of every new governor; while the interest of its legitimate proprietor has been the last that it has been allowed to serve. One appears to have resolved on immortalizing his name by establishing upon it a completely English settlement; but another steps in, and at once upsets the whole of that scheme, saying, "The ground shall be neutral still, for this was the intent of my treaty;" which treaty, however, is only binding upon himself until three or four thousand acres are wanted for one friend, five or six thousand for another, and six or seven thousand for a third, and then away go treaty, stipulations, policy, and all! In 1828 it is determined to amend the condition of Hottentots and other free persons of colour; in order to which, land is of course wanted for them. The boors (some of whom had one, some two, and others as many as three, farms within the colony, besides their new grants) could not be disturbed, because able to produce their writings, their transfers, and their title-deeds, &c.; but the poor Kaffer, unable to show any "writings," or to produce any "diagram," must be compelled to give up the "land of his fathers," because, forsooth, "it belongs to the neutral territory."

These are grievances which loudly call for redress; and if we wish to extend our friendly relations, and promote good faith among the tribes, the sooner the terri

torial question is decided the better. Let compensation be made to the injured and aggrieved clans, by at least allowing them a portion of the unappropriated ground best suited to their views and wishes. Let those that are occupying certain lands as above mentioned on sufferance be permanently established in their rights; and let the remainder be peopled in a manner that shall, as fully as possible, accord with the views and interests of the bordering tribes generally, making their respective chieftains parties to the plan. By such means, colonial measures may be rendered salutarily influential; and the restored confidence and consequent attachment of our neighbours would most assuredly do more towards preserving general tranquillity than a hundred military stations ever did. Moreover, mission stations and schools might then be established among them; a thing which cannot be done at present without being in danger of sharing the lamentable fate of Balfour.

Next to the settlement of the above-mentioned question, it is of vital importance to the peace of the frontier, and the civilization of our neighbours, that such measures be adopted as shall in future protect and prevent all further encroachment upon them. As already shown, much good-feeling has of late been manifested towards the tribes in many different ways: but we have not as yet by any means extended to them that protection which they reasonably demand at our hands, and which our increased intercourse renders absolutely necessary. Hence numbers are at this very moment suffering most grievously from their rights being shamefully trampled under foot, and their clannish feuds materially promoted, by lawless colonists, English as well as Dutch, who when once beyond colonial precincts seem to laugh both at law and legislators, scrupling not to commit acts of aggression and cruelty quite equal to those of former years. The injured Kaffer, unacquainted with our forms of law, wholly unaccustomed to colonial courts of judicature, and often fearing to come within the limits of the colony, knowing that this has again and again been absolutely prohibited, is the subject of wrongs, without any adequate means of redress. His complaints are unheard, and consequently unheeded: nor is the case met by saying, "Our courts are now open to all classes, black as well as white;" seeing that the way into them has not yet been made plain to him, and that

he has no one whose business it is fully and officially to investigate his complaints, or to plead his cause.

A few days before Mr. H. and I went to see Voosani respecting the commencement of the Temboo mission, a case occurred among his people of which he bitterly and very justly complained. A Mr. ——, who had for some time previously been trafficking in that part of the country, finding one morning that four or five of his cattle were missing, immediately sent off his servants in search of them. These succeeded in tracing part of them to one of the neighbouring hamlets, whither they appeared to have been driven. Thus far, therefore, all went right, and the way was clearly open for obtaining legal redress: for, be it remembered, the Kaffer has laws; and, in all matters of this kind, very efficient ones too. But instead of adhering to them, and paying due respect to the prerogative of the chief (who was but a few miles distant), by forthwith reporting the whole affair, and leaving him to adopt measures against the offenders (which would have secured the approbation of all parties), this mighty man took the law into his own hands; and, in imitation of those whom we have sometimes seen valiantly dashing about among naked savages, with Congreve rockets and musket-balls, formally besieged the whole hamlet; and by means of his armed force at once drove off as many cattle as he thought proper; amounting in all (inclusive of some afterward taken from an accomplice at a distance) to twenty-five head. Thus was the authority of the chief contemned; and the supposed delinquents, without so much as a trial, punished to the utmost of the accuser's wishes. This affair was partially reported in one of the colonial newspapers, but no further notice was ever taken of it.

Two or three months afterward, the very same individual took up his fowling-piece, and shot one of Boohoo's warriors dead at his feet. This took place in August, 1830, on the left bank of the Kae River, about twenty miles from Butterworth; and, according to the fellow's own showing, in consequence of no other offence whatever than that of the man's "continuing to tease him for a present," in consideration of some little job which he had done for him just before. As he was standing in the door-way of the trader's hut at the time it happened, the body appears to have fallen on the threshold, and was thence dragged in and concealed.

Nevertheless, the circumstance soon became known, and brought together considerable numbers of the natives; upon which the criminal fled, and made his way into the colony as quickly as possible. It will, of course, be asked, "And what was his punishment there?" Why, he was deprived of his license as a trader. Having stated that he was not aware of the gun's being loaded at the time, the matter was here allowed to end; and many weeks did not elapse before he was again traversing Caffraria (though destitute of license), with as much boldness as ever. His penalty, therefore, could not be regarded in any other light than as a mere mock punishment.

The astonishing supineness with which deeds of this horrid character are treated would really seem to confirm a doctrine that has again and again been gravely argued, namely, that "crimes committed without the colony are not cognizable within." But forsooth, if the Kaffer steals or murders within our domain, we either require his chief to hang him, or we set to, and, by means of a commando, punish both him and his country for it. Two or three predatory natives, for instance, who came over in 1829, happened to meet with one or two English soldiers near the Fish River: a skirmish took place, and the latter were murdered: the thing was immediately rung through every part of the colony, and all Kafferland trembled; a strict search being everywhere made for the offenders, and the chiefs being peremptorily required to give them up forthwith. This was done; and, on trial, the culprits acknowledged the charge; upon which they were escorted back again to their chief, who was at the same time informed of the rigour of our law in all such cases, and recommended to adopt it. He did so; and the murderers were consequently hung, on the left bank of the Keiskamma, near Fort Wilshire, in the presence of our troops there stationed.

The conduct of Boohoo after the loss of his man was truly laudable, and worthy of remark, as it exhibited traits that ought to have been encouraged. He no sooner heard that the trader had absconded than he despatched messengers to the mission village, recommending some trusty person being immediately put in charge of the property,—three wagons, oxen, and a quantity of merchandise, which he had left behind.

The oxen and wagons belonged to a person in Graham's Town; who, accompanied by a friend, hastened to the spot to claim them. After being informed that they were in no way connected with the delinquent, excepting in having lent him the wagons, the chief received them with great kindness; and ordered a council to be held on the subject the following day. Accordingly, between one and two hundred armed warriors attended at the time appointed; and the whole day was spent in debate, with the view, apparently, of securing a forfeiture of the property. Great acuteness was evinced by some of the Amapakapati in endeavours to prove a connexion with the trader; and, "You belong to him; you are his servants; you are employed by him who has killed one of our people," were frequently reiterated. A division at length arose, which the interpreter feared would not be confined to words: happily, however, this passed off; and it was finally adjudged that the property should be immediately restored to its rightful owner.

"The result of this affair," says a writer in the Cape paper, "as far as regards these barbarous neighbours of ours, as we are taught to consider them, evinces in the strongest light the benefits of a change of system, as well as the happy effects produced by the missionary settlements among them. The institution of Butterworth was established about three years since, at which time Boohoo was a lawless character; and, from a difference between him and Hinza (his brother), had deserted his country with his followers, and robbed among the Tambookies. On his return he gradually became more inclined to listen to reason; and now at a moment when the death of one of his subjects might have almost warranted his seizure of the property as an indemnification, he refrains, and desires that it might be taken under the care of those who he saw were spreading peace and knowledge among them; and in the subsequent council which he had ordered to assemble, we see two individuals, unattended by authority or force, surrounded by such a number, some of them exasperated by the loss of a friend, pleading their cause; and, after a thorough investigation of their claims, obtaining indemnification to the fullest extent.

"A Friend to Kafferland Missions.*

"*Graham's Town, September 29th*, 1830."

* South African Commercial Advertiser, vol. vi. No. 349.

The unprotected state of the tribes on the northern frontier is, if possible, still more distressing. There, numbers of Dutch boors, despite both of right and remonstrance, are continually trespassing upon the lands of the aborigines, and treating them in a manner the most oppressive. "These farmers" says the colonial secretary in an official letter, dated, Cape of Good Hope, April 13th, 1829, "expatriated themselves without the permission, and in defiance of the law, forced by want of water and pasturage for their flocks; and seek the means of sustenance wherever they can be found.* Such was the pressure of their necessities that no law, no force, could either prevent their emigration or compel their return, until the return of a more favourable season. These emigrants have been made fully aware of the dangerous consequences of provoking the native tribes among whom they have settled themselves for a time, and by whom they were kindly received; and they have been apprized, that by their own act they are placed equally beyond the control and protection of the government. But whatever influence government can be supposed to retain over men circumstanced as they are, has been, and will continue to be, exacted, to keep them from injuring or molesting the native tribes, and finally to bring them back within the limits of the colony?"†

Now, what does this "influence" do towards prevent-

* Having one day occasion to encamp near a tenantless farm belonging to one of these emigrants, my fellow-traveller and I took a walk over the premises. All was silent as death, until we came to the back part of the dwelling, where two half-starved dogs arrested our attention, and by their movements led us to a temporary shed, consisting of two or three small mats reared against some sticks not many paces distant. Thither we proceeded to ascertain what object attracted them; when, shocking to relate, the corpse of a black woman, lying on the ground, and almost naked, presented itself to view. The sight literally sickened us, and aroused feelings both of indignation and pity. She had evidently been one of the boor's servants or a slave; and being, in all probability, ill at the time he left, was thus deserted as a "useless animal!" Near her were the ashes of a small fire, which had, doubtless, gone out, leaving her without one cheering or reviving ray, some time before the spark of life became extinct. A quantity of "*simmels*" (coarse bran) also lay on the ground beside her, and had most likely constituted the only supply of food left her by the master: this, however, the poor creature had been unable to use.

† Bannister's Humane Policy, p. 67, 68.

ing molestation and injury of the native tribes? Why, little or nothing: nor can we rationally expect the case to be otherwise, while such men are tamely suffered to act "in defiance of the law," and plainly told by high authority that they have completely succeeded in placing themselves "beyond the control of government," the very thing they wished. It is well known, that the unfavourableness of the season is no new pretext for encroachments of this kind: but that some of the most unrighteous acts of former days were thus speciously covered; and that on the very same principle we might go on endlessly in a course of oppression and wrong, driving the aborigines farther and still farther back, until we have crushed them altogether. These "self-expatriated emigrants," instead of returning with "the return of a more favourable season," have in many instances not returned yet; but are actually settled "beyond the control of government," and evidently expect one day or other to extort from government an acknowledgment, at least, that the lands they have seized are their own.*

Whether it will be believed or not, it is an incontrovertible fact that the tribes are molested, that they are seriously injured, and that in many different ways. The game upon which some of them have entirely to depend for subsistence is by these Nimrods destroyed, the scanty pasturage of their fields consumed, and their children often reduced to a state of complete vassalage. How far a spirit of amity towards us is likely to be promoted by these vagrants, among the more distant tribes, will, perhaps, best appear from the following fact:—A party of them, while on one of their hunting excursions, not very long ago, visited the powerful chief Matsilikaatsy, with whom, owing to the remoteness of his situation, we have as yet had but very little intercourse. He generously presented them with ten or twelve fine oxen; and desired them to take charge of several others, as a pres-

* The following order, however, connected with this subject, and issued by his excellency Sir Lowry Cole, is worthy of notice:—

"*Cape of Good Hope, June 20th*, 1829.

"Whereas, many memorials have been presented praying for grants of land, situated beyond the known boundaries of the colony, and even beyond the Great Orange River, it is hereby notified, that no attention whatever will be paid to any such memorials. By command of his excellency the governor.

(Signed) "JOHN BELL, Secretary to Government."

ent to the colonial authorities, signifying that he wished to be "the friend of white men." On their departure he sent some of his menials along with them, in order to bring back a horse or two for which he had bargained and paid them in cattle. Two or three days after leaving him, however, they rudely dismissed his servants, sent back the price of the horses, and likewise the presents that were to have been forwarded to the colony, that they "might have no further trouble about them."

About the middle of 1830 another of these hunting parties proceeded to a considerable distance in the interior, taking with them three or four Hottentots, to assist in shooting elephants. When on their way back, the latter were one day peremptorily required to proceed to one of the hamlets, and there seize some of the younger children. They hesitated for some time, as if unable to believe that their masters were really in earnest: but many dreadful threats soon convinced them of this, and constrained obedience to their mandate. They therefore went and laid hands upon three; but the cries of the distracted mothers soon overcame and induced them to relinquish their hold. On returning to the encampment, and stating the circumstances to their inhuman employers, they were again menaced as before; and further told, that if they did not immediately fetch them some of the little urchins, they would flog them to death, and bury them upon the spot! This induced them reluctantly to make a second attempt, in which they steeled themselves sufficiently to drag away four. These the ruffians put into their wagons, and bore away; and shortly afterward kidnapped three more.

Recollecting, however, that they would have to pass one of the mission stations on their way to market with the proceeds of the chase, and that inquiry respecting these children would in all probability be there instituted; after journeying to a considerable distance, they proposed that the Hottentots should take charge of the little captives, and tell the missionary that they were poor destitute orphans, whom they had rescued from utter starvation in the desert. This scheme, together with an injunction of strict secrecy, was backed by promise upon promise of a handsome reward. "Nay," said the Hottentots, "you have compelled us to steal the children; but you shall not force us to keep them, nor yet to tell falsehoods respecting them." Perceiving,

therefore, that their purpose of securing them must fail, as detection was inevitable, they there and then turned the poor little creatures adrift,—far from their homes, with only a small piece of meat in their hands, and in a part of the desert that was much infested with lions. Hence it is more than probable that they all perished, either for want of food or by beasts of prey. So much for the men who are suffered to place themselves beyond the control of government whenever their vagrant habits prompt them thereto, or "water and pasturage for the flocks" become scarce on their farms within the colony. "Barrow records, that the boors used to obtain slaves from beyond the boundaries westward; and certain it is that the evils of slavery are at this moment increasing on our north-eastern borders, where it is not sufficiently checked by the established authorities. The daily encroachments of Dutch farmers upon lands beyond these frontiers greatly facilitate the practice."*

Such are some of the evils under which, notwithstanding all our boasted benevolence and good-feeling towards the long-oppressed African, we are still leaving him to perish, and that on our very threshold. With wiser men we now leave the case, that they may devise a remedy. Devised some remedy must be, and that speedily, if we wish to maintain the honour of our character either as Britons or as Christians. In 1826 his majesty's commissioners of inquiry declared, that they could "only hope for a reduction of the heavy expense now incurred in maintaining the defence of the frontier by the progressive extension of more amicable relations with the tribes:" adding, moreover, "that it is at once consolatory and satisfactory to reflect, that any measures tending to preserve the tranquillity of the frontier on the side of Caffraria will in the same degree contribute to the prosperity and commercial enterprise of the colony."† Hence, under these impressions, they strongly recommended the appointment of a number of civil agents to reside among the tribes, and to constitute them official organs of communication with government upon all subjects. These would indeed form a connecting link; and if suitable men—men of sound judgment, firm principle, and a philanthropic spirit—were selected, and

* Bannister's Humane Policy, p. 226, 228.

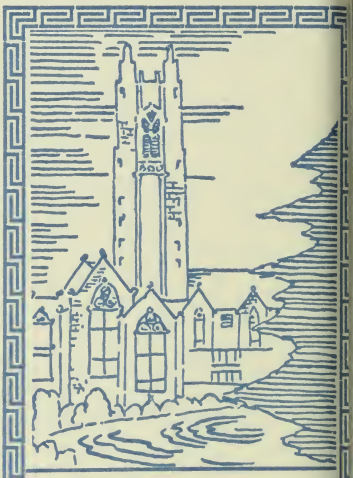
† Vide his majesty's commissioners' Report on the Cape.

invested with such powers as would render them efficient guardians of the native rights, personal, relative, and territorial, the results would doubtless be of the most happy character. But while, on the one hand, no sphere presents itself in which a proper person might make himself more extensively and really useful; on the other, there is scarcely one in which an improper person, a mere placeman, or a man of loose and immoral principles, would be a greater curse. May Heaven save the country from such men!

Let it never be forgotten that Christianity led the way in opening an intercourse with the tribes; that she laid the foundations of commerce, and inspired them with a wish for peace with the colony; and that where her mild sway is most fully established, there is our intercourse likely to be most peaceful and permanent. These being facts that defy refutation, it is sincerely hoped that whatever measure "the powers that be" may adopt, the utmost care will be taken to guard against every thing that might in the least degree tend to impede her progress; and that the friends of missions will continue to afford increased aid, in order that her cheering rays may be extended to the most distant extremities of the land. To the latter alone the tribes are looking for effectual deliverance from the galling yoke of heathenism. Government indeed may do much in protecting them from foes without; but theirs is not the province to put down or subjugate the enemy within. Ignorance and superstition will still bear down into eternal darkness whole nations of men, unless Christians unweariedly exert themselves in sending forth the light of truth. Much has been done towards checking the horrid rites and sanguinary orgies connected with idolatry in India, by appeals to the British legislature; and much, we trust, will ere long be done for the enslaved African in the west, by similar measures: but these, alas! can do little or nothing for the pagan nations of Africa itself, inasmuch as they are wholly independent of our jurisdiction. With a country of their own, and governments of their own framing, they are placed beyond the reach of every thing, save Christ and his gospel. Hence, if the friends of religion come not forth to their help, millions of poor children must remain for ever untaught; entire regions be left altogether destitute of schools and of churches, as well as of teachers;

and generation must continue to follow generation into eternity without so much as ever seeing a book! Nay, thousands of miserable females must still be tortured; multitudes of innocent individuals annually sacrificed; and tens of thousands dragged, while struggling with death, into glens and jungles, as food for beasts of prey! On the ground, therefore, of common humanity, as well as of Christian duty, we once more earnestly press the matter upon every Briton's conscience in the sacred and imperative language of Holy Writ:—"IF THOU FORBEAR TO DELIVER THEM THAT ARE DRAWN UNTO DEATH, AND THOSE THAT ARE READY TO BE SLAIN: IF THOU SAYEST, BEHOLD, WE KNEW IT NOT; DOTH NOT HE THAT PONDERETH THE HEART CONSIDER IT? AND HE THAT KEEPETH THY SOUL, DOTH NOT HE KNOW IT? AND SHALL NOT HE RENDER TO EVERY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS WORKS?"

THE END.



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In Memoriam

No. KATHARINE E. COMAN